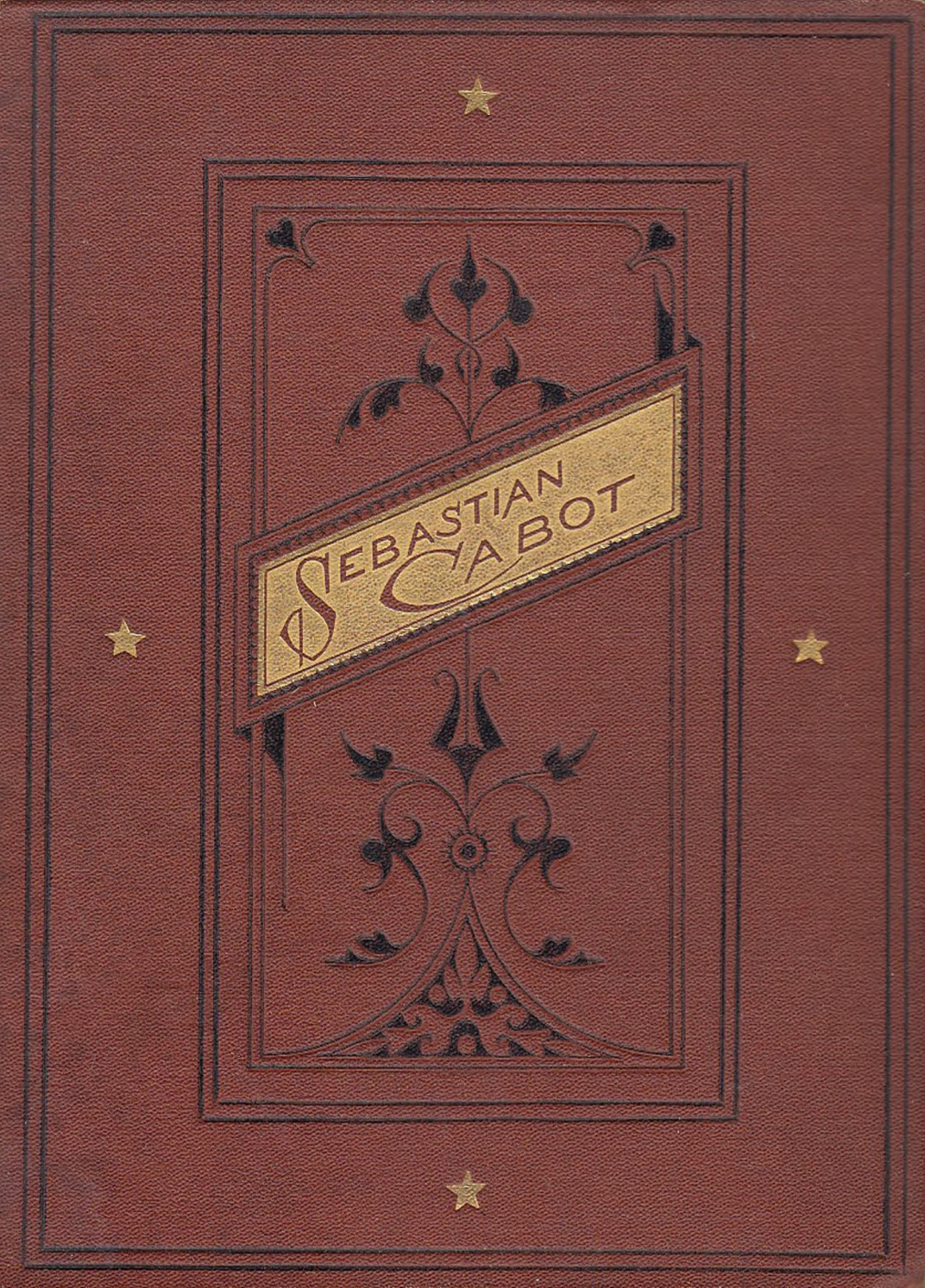
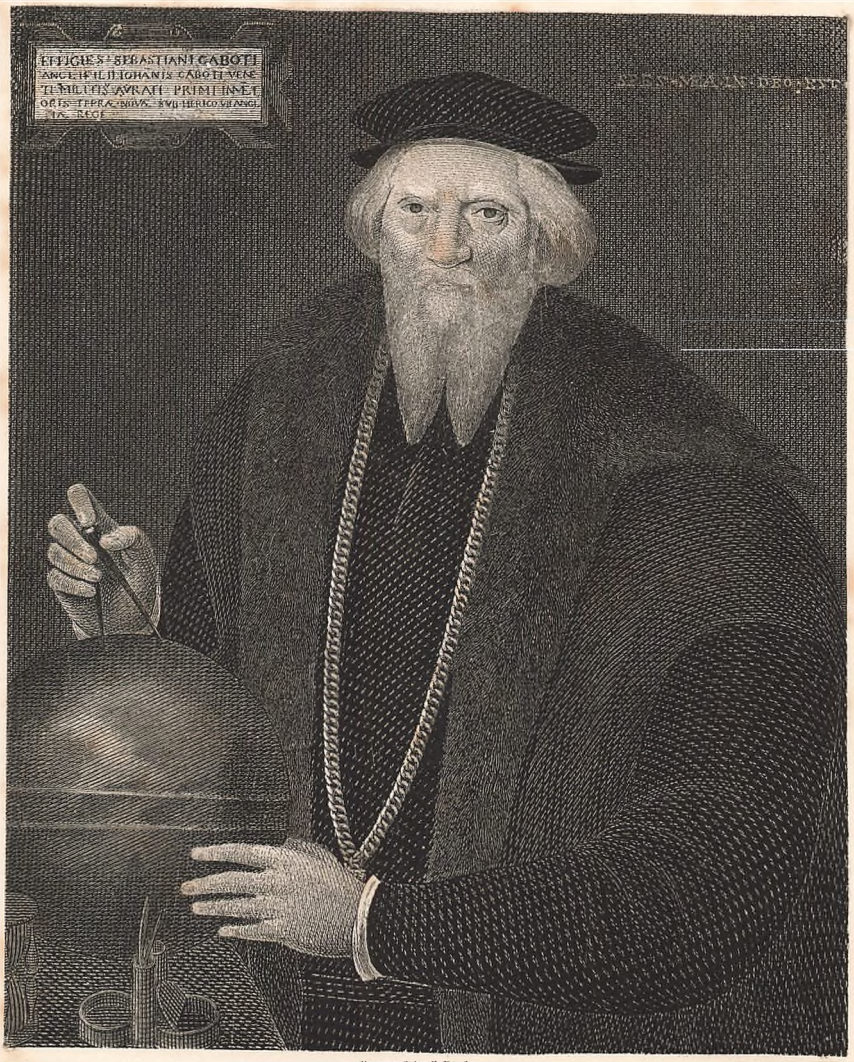

SEBASTIAN CABOT

THE LIFE OF
SEBASTIAN CABOT.



Engraved by S. Rawle.

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF CHARLES JOS.ᵀ HARFORD ESQ.ᴿ

THE REMARKABLE LIFE, ADVENTURES AND DISCOVERIES OF SEBASTIAN CABOT,

OF BRISTOL,

THE FOUNDER OF GREAT BRITAIN'S MARITIME POWER,

DISCOVERER OF AMERICA, AND ITS

FIRST COLONIZER.

BY J. F. NICHOLLS,

CITY LIBRARIAN, BRISTOL.

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TO

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL

FRANCIS ADAMS, ESQUIRE,

THE MAYOR,

THE WORSHIPFUL THE ALDERMEN, THE HIGH SHERIFF,

THE MEMBERS OF THE TOWN COUNCIL, AND

J. F. LUCAS, ESQUIRE,

THE MASTER,

THE WARDENS, AND COMMONALTY, OF THE SOCIETY

OF MERCHANT ADVENTURERS OF THE

CITY OF BRISTOL,

This Monograph of

SEBASTIAN CABOT,

A FELLOW CITIZEN,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

HAKLUYT, a Prebendary of Briſtol, in 1584, in writing the "Early Hiſtory of Maritime Enterpriſe," conferred a great boon on all ſucceeding hiſtorians; but it muſt be allowed that, occaſionally, he took great liberties with the text of his authorities.

His errors have been followed to a greater or leſſer extent, by our principal naval writers, who were moſt of them content to accept his authority without the trouble of further ſearch.

Thus the three or more voyages of Cabot are jumbled together in Ramuſio's ſtatement altered by Hakluyt, and again by his copyiſts, leaving the whole a contradictory and bewildering puzzle to all who read the differing ſtatements.

The writer has felt that the recent diſcovery in the "Bibliothèque Imperial" of a map of

Cabot, dated 1544, gives a key to the enigma, and the following pages attempt to define the ſeparate voyages, the object and reſults of each, from a careful analyſis of all the evidence at command.

Still, had Biddle's memoir of Sebaſtian Cabot (A.D. 1831) been written in a conciſer and clearer ſtyle, with leſs of petulance and hypercriticiſm, the probabilities are that this attempt would never have been made.

His work is full of hiſtoric reſearch, and has done good ſervice; the writer has drawn largely from his materials, and deſires to acknowledge the obligation.

Differing widely from him on ſome points, it is but right to add that the author's concluſions have been mainly arrived at through evidence which was not known to be in exiſtence thirty years ſince.

This additional evidence created a deſire to clear the character of a fellow-citizen, and to place him in his proper poſition before the world.

For that Cabot was really a great man, few or none who read theſe pages will diſpute.

Nor does his greatneſs ariſe from the mere accident of diſcovery. What he found he ſought for, or, at all events, its equivalent; whilſt his whole life manifeſts a perſiſtent, energetic determination to attain a given object; combined with a capacious power of intellect, which enabled him to graſp, determine, explain, and apply problems in ſcience that his contemporaries underſtood not.

In him was the proverb verified: "Seeſt thou a man diligent in buſineſs? he ſhall ſtand before kings; he ſhall not ſtand before mean men." The haughty grandees of Spain owned him as their peer, whilſt the nobleſt blood of England held office under him.

The man who could not only come out unſcathed from the hotbed of tyranny, licentious cruelty, and debaſing ſuperſtition which Spain and the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in America openly diſplayed in that age, but could pen thoſe prudent, wiſe, and pious inſtructions which he gave to the men whom he ſelected and employed, muſt ever be entitled to the epithet of a great man.

What he did for his country, its commerce

and its ſhipping, the following pages will in ſome meaſure indicate.

Though his duſt lies in an unknown and unhonoured grave, and his ſtatue graces neither palace nor city, if this work ſhould clear for him a niche in the memory of his countrymen, it will be by them ſpeedily filled, for

"A good man's deeds are his beſt monument;"

And Sebaſtian Cabot will henceforth have a home in every Engliſh heart, as well as in that of the great nation who dwell in the land which he firſt diſcovered, and which ought at this day, inſtead of America, to be called Cabotia.

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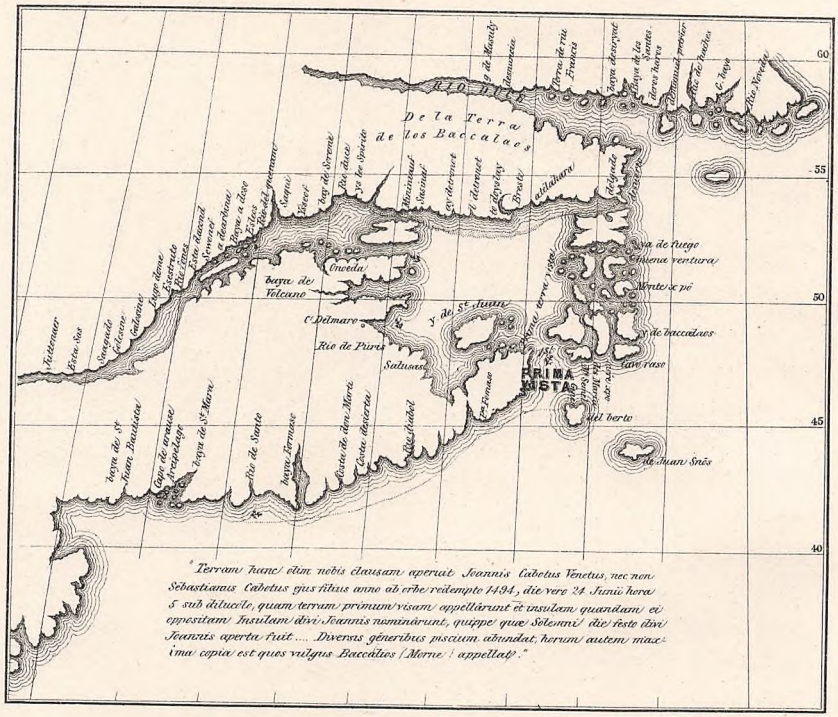
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LIFE OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.

CHAPTER I.

The Fifteenth Century a time of awakening and diſcovery. Printing acceſſory to, and a quickener of, Maritime energy. Firſt beginning of the Oriental trade, until its abſorption by the Venetians.

THE cloſing decades of the fifteenth century form one of the turning points of the world's hiſtory.

Darkneſs had covered the earth, and thick darkneſs had mantled around its people; but now it began to feel the ſolid land; to emerge from the mire of ignorance and ſuperſtition in which it had long been floundering, and to diſcern, though as yet but dimly, in the grey dawning light, the miſty path of its future travel.

Printing, 15th Century.

That mighty diſcovery, printing, was like a new creation, and God's fiat, "Light BE!" was as potent in the world of intellect as it erſt was in the world of matter.

The buried treaſure of the ancients was now exhumed; the garnered ſtore of the gathered wiſdom of the bygone ages, hitherto inacceſſible, was unlocked, and the living ſeed, ſcattered over the globe, gladdened its inhabitants, enlarging and enriching their minds, and was hailed with rapture by all who valued learning.

The early printers were either ſcholars themſelves, or they kept learned men in their employment to reviſe and correct each ſheet as it came from the preſs.

Hence, books were at firſt luxuries in which only popes, emperors, and kings could indulge.

The firſt object of the printers was rather to diffuſe the accumulated learning of the paſt, than to diſcover and develope new mines of intellect in the living age; earneſtly they ſet themſelves to the taſk of reſcuing the ſcattered manuſcripts of the orators, hiſtorians, poets

and philoſophers of Greece and Rome from oblivion; and ſoon placed theſe beyond the riſk of extinction from neglect or ignorant careleſſneſs.

Great demand for books.

As ſoon as the princes and public libraries, &c., were ſupplied, the craving deſires of men of letters, but of limited means, elicited cheaper editions, which reduced at once the coſtly and cumbrous folio to the compact neat octavo or duodecimo.

Very ſoon the printer found there was a market for his wares in the Univerſities, large towns, and amongſt at leaſt a portion of the country gentry and clergy, who conſtantly demanded cheaper editions of the early claſſics.

This demand opened, widened, and deepened the fountains of literature. Scholarly printers, like Aldus, no longer waited for the approving nod of pope, emperor, or cardinal, ere they began to print; and with a regular and increaſing demand, ſervile dependence on great patrons died out.

Brought now into colliſion with the mighty dead, the living intellect hitherto "cabined, cribbed, confined," began to germinate;

thoughts, vague and undefined, which had been floating about in their own minds, ſtudents found had preſented themſelves, perhaps in a different phaſe, to others; or the ſtudy of books, gave to them the proof that had been wanting in their own experience, and forthwith, as Minerva ſprung ready armed from the head of Jove, the theorem was complete and they ruſhed into print.

Then daring, practical men aroſe, who reduced the theory to practice, and amidſt a multitude, doubtleſs, of ſtillborn failures, the world was conſtantly arouſed by the tidings of ſome new and brilliant ſucceſs.

Reformation.

Coincident with the diſcovery of the new art, and running parallel with its progreſs, if not heading and leading it, came the doctrines of the Reformation, which proclaimed the Bible as the all-ſufficient and only infallible teacher of man.

This, meeting a felt want, and promiſing to fill an aching, empty void in the human heart, at once created a clamorous demand for the word of God.

The Dame Partingtons of the day ſtrove in

vain to ſtem the tide; buying up the early tomes and burning them, they unwittingly advertiſed and found capital for new and more correct editions, ſo that in ſeventy-four years, from A.D. 1526 to A.D. 1600, we had in England alone 326 editions of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, printed, and theſe were not a tithe of the whole, for the preſſes of Europe were teeming with the ſcriptures.

Bible, numbers printed in England.

Printing had no inconſiderable influence on the pioneers of geographical diſcovery.

Geographical diſcovery ſtimulated.

They found that Diodorus Siculus deſcribed certain Carthaginian ſailors who had voyaged through the pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic Ocean, and there diſcovered a country which furniſhed all the neceſſaries and conveniences of life.

That the Phœnicians, Greeks and Sataſpes the Perſian, had coaſted Africa, whilſt Parmenides had, ages on ages before, divided the earth into zones.

That Ptolemy, in the ſecond century, had applied geometrical principles to the conſtruction of maps, the different projections of the ſphere, and had alſo diſtributed the places of

Ptolemy.

the earth according to their ſeveral latitudes and longitudes.

Well ſatisfied that the earth was a ſphere, they ſought a ſhort cut to Cathay, or the Eaſt Indies, undeterred though not unappalled, by the real or imaginary dangers which they ſuppoſed to be in the way; for the early geographers had pictured the Occident as the home of demons of horrid form, and their maps briſtled with figures which, in that ſuperſtitious age, were enough to terrify all but a few true-hearted noble minds.

Early terrors of Navigation.

Theſe, riſing themſelves above the fear of ſpiritual hobgoblins, had not only to calm the terrors of their followers and encourage the timid, but alſo to deviſe plans for overcoming the real phyſical dangers which beſet their unknown pathway.

Iceland.

Iceland (then ſpelt Iſland) had been known and was a place of trade for Briſtol merchants. Columbus viſited it and ſailed into a high northern latitude ere he ſought employment with Spain; but, between it and the long-ſought deſired haven, floated huge fields or towering bergs of ice, which deterred the timid

or hindered the ambitious mariner, who ſought to get to the eaſt by ſailing due weſt.

The central zone was equally well guarded by what is now known as the Sarguſſum Sea, a vaſt belt of floating ſeaweed which covers an extent of ocean equal in ſize to the Mediterranean Sea.

The ſouth-weſt and north-weſt ſeemed alone to afford a ſolution of the difficulty, and to offer a ſhorter road to the attainment of their object.

Let us briefly conſider how the oriental trade had grown and been carried on.

Conſtantinople, ſeat of the Indian trade.

From before the eighth century Conſtantinople had drawn rich ſtores from the Indies, and that metropolis of the eaſtern empire had, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages attendant on a long and perilous overland route for this traffic, acquired and retained the poſition of the opulent mart for the produce of Cathay.

Antioch and Tyre, whoſe ſhips coaſted along the ſhores of the Perſian Gulf and the Red Sea, ſucceſsfully competed for their ſhare in the riches of the Orient.

When the Croiſaders, on their way to the Holy Land, viewed the magnificence and ſplen-

dour which Conſtantinople and the other cities that they captured had attained through being the channels for the trade, they ſet to work to learn the arts and to fathom the policy of their inhabitants: they traced the ſources of their wealth, and as long as they held any poſt in the country they encouraged this long-eſtabliſhed commerce.

Venice and Genoa take to the trade.

Keen-ſighted practical men, ſuch as the Venetians and Genoeſe traders and merchants were, whoſe country had been benefited and their large wealth amaſſed by theſe holy wars, gradually crept into, and ere long engroſſed nearly the whole of this Indian trade.

Precious commodities of ſmall bulk, as cloves, nutmegs, pearls and diamonds, were long carried viâ the Perſian Gulf, Buſſora and Bagdad, to ſome port on the Mediterranean; whilſt more bulky goods came by the Red Sea and through Alexandria.

Egyptian tribute.

Conſtant robberies by the land route and a heavy tribute by the ſea, levied in Egypt, kept the prices ſo high, that it is really wonderful how buyers could be found; nevertheleſs the demand ſteadily increaſed.

The wily Mohammedans took care to keep the producer and conſumer aſunder; no Chriſtian was allowed to paſs through their countries to trade direct with the Indies; (by the general term Indies, will be underſtood all the iſlands and countries eaſt of the Perſian Gulf).

Tartar incurſions.

By-and-by came the dreadful incurſions of the Tartars, under "Jenghis Khan," who broke up the power of the Mohammedans.

Marco Paulo's travels. He returned, A. D. 1291, immenſely rich. See Iſaacſon's "Saturni Ephemerides," A. D. 1633.

Through the thus ſcattered tribes an adventurous brave Venetian, Marco Paulo by name, in the thirteenth century reached Bengal, Guzerat, China and Pekin; viſited Java, Ceylon, and Malabar; to all of which he gave the names they now bear; he mentions alſo, though he did not viſit it, the Iſle of Zipangri, moſt probably a part of Japan.

The diſcovery of theſe immenſe regions, hitherto unviſited, of mythical extent, the fabulous accounts of their wealth, furniſhed room for ſpeculation and ſtimulated adventure.

The trade ſteadily increaſed for two centuries. Then came the irruption of the Saracens, and, finally, their capture of Conſtantinople in 1453 A.D., which at once threw the

Saracens take Conſtantinople.

whole trade into the hands of the Venetians, through the foreſight with which they had ſecured a road by a treaty with Egypt in 1425, A.D.

Their great rivals, the Genoeſe, had cultivated the trade with Greece and Conſtantinople, getting their ſupplies thence, and having large eſtabliſhments there; but they were now driven from theſe poſſeſſions by the Turks, and ſo thoroughly humbled that they could no longer contend with the Queen of the Adriatic.

Genoa crippled, A. D. 1453.

CHAPTER II.

Venetian policy; growth in riches; causes of her decay. Reputed discovery of Brazil in A.D. 1460, *by a citizen of Nuremberg. Columbus. John Cabot's advent in England; settlement at Bristol; probable site of his home; possibility of his having been an Englishman; acquires his citizenship in Venice in* A.D. 1476; *Sebastian born in Bristol about* 1472, A.D. *Henry VII.'s first Charter to the family.*

Venetian policy.

THE crafty Venetians did not, like their predecessors, drain Europe of its gold and silver to pay for the commodities they bought, but, purchasing of the merchants in Egypt and Syria, they paid them by barter; taking to them the produce of Europe in exchange, and thus making a profit both ways.

Venice now became the emporium for Indian goods, and attained such power and splendour as never before, or seldom since,

Splendour of Venice.

belonged to any European ſtate; their magnificent houſes, rich furniture, profuſion of plate, and elegance of living, ſurpaſſed conception.

Nor was this mere oſtentatious diſplay, but the natural reſult of ſucceſsful induſtry, which, having with eaſe acquired wealth, choſe to enjoy it in ſplendour.

To carry on the trade the nobles and rich merchants lent their moneys, at a good rate of intereſt, in the eleventh century getting 20 per cent., and even down to the fifteenth they made regularly their 12 per cent. on ſuch tranſactions.

In addition to the commerce thus opened up, and now monopolized by Venice, ſhe, all but ſingle-handed, withſtood on the ſeaboard the advance of the encroaching, invading Saracens or Turks, not only repaying her expenſes, but enriching herſelf with the ſpoils of the cities ſhe captured.

Tapeſtries which Grecian dames, like Penelope, had woven, were ruthleſsly torn from the walls; Damaſcene blades, richly inlaid yataghans, paintings, and ſculpture, found

their way to Venice, and the city laboured under a plethora of wealth.

At laſt, about A. D. 1470, the tide of victory ſeemed to turn; the Turks entered and overran Dalmatia and Auſtria, carrying away 5000 captives; laid waſte Boſnia, Styria, Carinthia, took Capha, Taurica, Cherſomreſus, doing very great damage to the Venetian territories, ſo that in 1478 the Republic was glad to make peace. Turks ſucceſsful.

Two years after this Venice joined the Florentines in a war againſt the Pope, in which, in two years, ſhe ſpent 600,000 crowns.

Wars and rumours of war in quick ſucceſſion follow, until we are not ſurpriſed to find the Turk again overrunning her territories, and taking 4000 of her people captive on one occaſion.

Lepanto, Medona, Crotone, Pilas and Ciſſeum ſuccumbed before the invader; the Saracen found firm footing in Italy, and Venice was again glad to make peace with Bajazat. A. D. 1502.

Meanwhile two heavier blows than even

theſe expenſive wars, were being dealt to the queenly city. We take the ſecond of theſe firſt.

De Gama doubles the Cape.

After a tedious courſe of voyages, Vaſco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and coaſted ſucceſsfully the weſtern ſhores of Africa, reaching Calicut, on the Malabar coaſt, on the 24th May, 1498, A. D.

Loading his ſhip with the produce of that country, and of the more remote regions which he found there, he eſcaped a multitude of dangers, and returned ſafely to Portugal.

Here he had a moſt gracious reception, and the king at once ſecured by papal bull the ſole right to trade with the new lands thus viſited, which were, in fact, treated as new diſcoveries by Portugal.

This was a mortal ſtab to the trade of Venice, from which it never recovered.

The other blow, though in reality firſt ſtruck, was more ſlow, but even more certain, and juſt as fatal in its operation.

Behem.

As long ſince as A. D. 1460 (ſo the archives of Nuremberg ſtate) one of their citizens, Martin Behem by name, had ſailed in queſt

of the mythical land diſcovered in the Atlantic by the Carthaginians.

He reached Madeira, and founding a colony of Flemings there was by the king of Portugal made governor of Fayal, and in 1484, in ſhips provided by the king, he, it is ſaid, diſcovered Brazil, and even the ſtraits now known by the name of Magellan.

Globe and Charts at Nuremberg.

His own letters, a terreſtrial globe, and charts of the lands thus diſcovered, are ſaid to have been depoſited in 1492, and are ſtill preſerved in the archives of his native city. Hartman Schedl, and Petreus Matreus, writing two years before the diſcoveries of Columbus, confirm this. It would be exceedingly intereſting to have this verified, but our decided opinion is that he merely drew on his map the theory which Columbus afterwards practically carried out, and we very much doubt the correctneſs of the date 1460. This chart is ſaid to have determined Magellan in the courſe he purſued.

Columbus.

Hears of the Weſt.

Authors agree that Columbus had ſome information reſpecting the weſtern ſhores, though they all ſpeak very vaguely as to its ſource;

now if this Behem was governor of Fayal during the ſeveral voyages Columbus made to the Madeiras, the myſtery is, we think, explained.

Nor does it detract from the honours due to Columbus, for Behem does not ſeem to have thought that he had found more than an iſland, and that not one of the rich Indies ſo ardently deſiderated.

Diſcovers Weſt Indies.

Columbus, when at laſt he got a chance, took a more northerly courſe than Behem; and whilſt he really found iſlands—and very rich ones—even he never dreamt of a continent ſo near at hand, of which, be it remembered, he never ſaw the ſhores until Auguſt 1498, A.D.

Spain, her wealth.

This diſcovery of the central part of America put Spain into poſſeſſion of immenſe treaſures, which were gradually diffuſed over Europe.

Theſe ſtimulated the induſtry of other nations, and made them exert themſelves in ſuch a way as ſoon to leſſen the demand for the Eaſtern goods through the expenſive channel of Venice.

There a gradual decline of trade had, from

the middle of the century, neceſſitated a more diſtant ſearch for cuſtomers. "If the mountain would not come to Mahomet, Mahomet muſt go to the mountain."

From this cauſe, probably, about 1460 or 1470, John Cabot, who it is expreſsly ſaid "came to London to follow the trade of merchandize," found his way to Briſtol, the ſecond city in the kingdom, and containing, as we ſhall by-and-by ſee, at leaſt ſome congenial and brotherly adventurous ſpirits.

John Cabot ſettles at Briſtol.

In this city, not being allowed, by exiſting jealous charters, which preſcribed that no ſtranger tradeſman ſhould dwell in or tarry in the town for the ſale of his wares beyond forty days, he could find no reſting place.

"Carta Johannis Comitis Moreton, A.D. 1188, afterwards King John, alſo 36 Henry III. 1252 A.D., alſo 28 Edward I. 1300 A.D., &c. &c."

He would moſt likely then ſettle in the ſuburb neareſt to the town and ſhipping. Thoſe on the north and weſt were already occupied by the Jews (Jacob's Wells and Stonebridge), between whom and the Venetians there was no congeniality of feeling.

The eaſtern ſuburb lay too far from the river, ſo that there was only the ſouthern left; and Langmead and Lokeings Croft, now

known as Cathay, running right up under the very ſhadow of old St. Mary Redcliffe Church, would, to the foreigner, compelled to live and trade outſide the bounds of the city, offer the moſt convenient ſite.

Cathay, a Briſtol ſuburb.

Doubtleſs, other Venetians traded here alſo, and their goods being moſtly from Cathay, as the Indies were called, we may fairly ſuppoſe gave the locality the deſignation which it bears to this day.

Tradition ſays Sebaſtian was born here.

Here then it is probable John Cabot ſettled (and traded), having for a ſhort period as a near neighbour, on the other ſide of the church, the famous William Canynge. May we not conjecture alſo that the wealthy Engliſh merchant and the rich Venetian trader ſtruck hands at many a bargain, and drank not a few tankards of ſpiced Canary together? Somewhere in this locality his two younger ſons, Sebaſtian and Sanctus, were born; for though we know what Sebaſtian is reported to have told Contarini, the plain ſimple words of his utterance to R. Eden are ſo natural and truthful, that we at once accept them, and will deal with the other ſtatement elſewhere. Eden ſays, then (fol. 255):

Eden, fol. 255.

"Sebaſtian Cabot told me that he was borne in Bryſtowe, and that at iiij yeare ould he was carried with his father to Venice, and ſo returned agayne into England with his father after certayne years, whereby he was thought to have been born in Venice." Eden's "Decades," 255.

Here we have the queſtion ſettled more than three hundred years ſince, on the higheſt authority, as to the city of his birth; the date is not ſo eaſily fixed, different writers placing it from about A.D. 1474 to A.D. 1477.

We are much inclined, for ſeveral reaſons, to adopt the firſt date as the neareſt the truth. Richard Eden, in his "Decades of the New World," &c. (A.D. 1555), ſpeaking of him as one knowing him intimately, does ſo in language which implies great age. One chapter has for its title, "Lykewyſe of the vyages of that woorthy man, Sebaſtian Cabote, yat lyvynge," &c. But the matter is now, we think, ſatisfactorily ſettled by Rawdon Brown's "Venetian Calendar," taken from the Archives of Venice, where, under date of Auguſt 11, 1472, is a privilege conferring the rights of citizenſhip on Aloiſe Fontano, of Bergame, "Venetian Calendar."

and a ſupplementary memorandum, purporting that ſixteen other privileges, of later date, had been conceded to various individuals, including one to John Cabot, thus: "Simile privilegium factum fuit Johanni Caboot ſub duce ſupra ſcripto, A.D. 1476."

John Cabot made a citizen of Venice 1476, "Venetian Calendar."

Under date March 29, 1476, we find a decree of the Senate, "That a privilege of citizenſhip, within and without, be made for John Cabot, as uſual, for a reſidence of fifteen years. Ayes, 149. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0."

Born in 1472.

This proves John to have been in Venice in 1476. Sebaſtian ſays that he was four years old when taken there, which places his birth in 1472. If, however, John arrived in Venice and ſued out a patent in A.D. 1472, which was not completed until 1476, when he was again leaving—and the two entries may mean this—this would then place Sebaſtian's birth as early as A.D. 1468.

Sebaſtian Cabot old enough to command in 1497.

However, the proof ſeems concluſive that he was at the leaſt twenty-three years of age at the date of the firſt patent of 1495, and conſequently was twenty-five at the ſailing of the expedition and the landing on the American continent in 1497.

This removes an objection which ſome have hazarded as to Sebaſtian's extreme youth, and the improbability of his being employed in ſo hazardous a work.

We muſt remember alſo that Venice and Genoa largely ſupplied us with ſailors as well as ſhips, and all Sebaſtian's after life proved that he was the peer of Columbus himſelf in the ſcience of navigation, and his moſt worthy ſucceſſor in the office of Grand Pilot to the Court of Spain.

Trained with firſt rate ſailors.

Such a manhood would have had a promiſing youth; the future ſeaman muſt have been plainly diſcoverable between the age of ſeventeen and twenty-five—the two extremes given as to his age at the date of the firſt voyage.

What countryman originally was John Cabot? As we have ſeen, he only becomes a Venetian citizen in 1476. Was old John Stow right in calling him a Genoeſe, or was he after all an Engliſhman, who for ſome ſervice had this honour conferred upon him, even as William Gold had? For aught that appears to the contrary, he himſelf might have been born in Briſtol; and not many years

What countryman was John Cabot?

Wm. Gold, ſee "Venetian Calendar," a brave Engliſh adventurer.

Atteſted deeds now loſt.

ſince we are aſſured there were ſeveral deeds in the muniment cheſt of St. Thomas, in this city, of Henry VII.'s reign, which were atteſted by ſome of that name. Unfortunately, and though moſt diligent ſearch has been made after them, it has been hitherto unſucceſsful.

Further proofs of Sebaſtian's age.

Ere we leave this part of the ſubject, let us obſerve, that in the firſt patent the name of his youngeſt brother, Sanctus, is alſo mentioned. This, we think, affords ſtrong corroboration, if not abſolute proof, that the age of Sebaſtian was greater than many of his biographers have ſuppoſed, for it is not very likely that a minor's name would be aſſociated in a King's patent.

Further, though it is ſaid of him that he returned, when a youth, from Venice to England, it is nowhere ſaid that this patent of 1495 was granted immediately on his arrival; he may probably have been here for years.

Bred as a thorough ſeaman.

"His early voyages foſtered in him a love for the ſea, and from boyhood he was inſtructed in all the known branches of navigation; he thus became an apt ſcholar in the profeſſion he loved, and made ſeveral ſhort trips to ſea,

in order to acquire a practical as well as theoretical knowledge."

Returning from his voyages, he hears of the fame of Columbus.

At the probable period of his return to his native place, Europe was ringing with the diſcoveries of Columbus, and Henry VII., full of chagrin that through his own parſimony and delay he had loſt the prize which Spain had won, had concluded a treaty with Denmark, by which he could pour into Iceland (Iſland) all kinds of clothing, proviſions or other commodities, without let or hindrance, evidently (and probably by the elder Cabot's advice) aiming to make it a ſort of half-way houſe in the north-weſt road to Cathay.

Henry VII. concludes a treaty for trading with Iceland.

Cabot praiſes and ſeeks to emulate Columbus.

Sebaſtian Cabot, full of enthuſiaſm, does full juſtice to the maſter-mind of the ſeas; and ſpeaking of the diſcoveries of Columbus, ſays: "All men with great admiration affirm it to be more divine than human: the fame and report thereof increaſed in my heart a great flame and deſire to attempt ſome notable thing."

Stow's "Annals," p. 804, ed. 1605 A.D.

And being, Stow ſays, "expert with knowledge of the circuit of the world, and the iſlands of the ſame, as by his charts and other

reaſonable demonſtrations he ſhowed, cauſed the King to man and victual a ſhip," &c.

The charter ſhows this to have been an error. The rich Venetian merchant and his ſons were to find the ſhip and bear all expenſes, the wily king ſtipulating for one-fifth of the gains, without any riſk whatever.

The patent runs thus:—

Henry VII.'s firſt Charter to the Cabot family for five ſhips.

"Henry, by the grace of God, &c. &c.

"Be it known to all, that we have given and granted, and by theſe preſents do give and grant, to our well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sanctus, ſons of the ſaid John, and to their heirs and deputies, full and free authority, leave and power, to ſail to all parts, countries and ſeas of the *Eaſt*, of the Weſt, and of the North, under our banners and enſigns, with five ſhips, of what burthen or quality ſoever they be, and as many mariners and men as they will take with them in the ſaid ſhips, *upon their own proper coſts and charges*, to ſeek out, diſcover and find, whatſoever Iſles, Countries, Regions or Provinces of the Heathen and Infidels, whatſoever they be, and in whatſoever part of

the world which before this time have been unknown to all Chriſtians. We have granted to them and every of them and their deputies, and have given them our licenſe, to ſet up our banners and enſigns in every village, town, caſtle, iſle or mainland, of them newly found; and that the ſaid John and his ſons and their heirs may ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſs all ſuch towns, cities, &c. by them found, which they can ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſs as our vaſſals and lieutenants, getting to us the rule, title and juriſdiction of the ſaid villages, towns, &c.

To conquer, occupy, poſſeſs, trade, and pay the king, in wares or money, one fifth of of the net profit at Briſtol each voyage.

"Yet ſo that the ſaid John and his ſons and their heirs, of all the fruits, profits and commodities growing from ſuch navigation, ſhall be held and bound to pay to us, in wares or money, the *fifth part of the capital gain* ſo gotten for every their voyage, as often as they ſhall arrive at our port of Briſtol (at which port they ſhall be obliged only to arrive), deducting all manner of neceſſary coſts and charges by them made: we giving and granting unto them and their heirs and deputies that they ſhall be free from all payments of cuſtoms on all ſuch merchandize they ſhall

bring with them from the places ſo newly found.

None other to trade thither on pain of forfeiture of ſhips and goods.

"And moreover we have given and granted to them and their heirs and deputies that all the firm land, iſlands, villages, towns, &c. they ſhall chance to find, may not, without licenſe of the ſaid John Cabot and his ſons, be ſo frequented and viſited, under pain of loſing their ſhips and all the goods of them who ſhall preſume to ſail to the places ſo found.

The Cabots find the money.

"Willing, and commanding ſtrictly all and ſingular our ſubjects, as well on land as on ſea, to give good aſſiſtance to the ſaid John and his ſons and deputies, and that as well in arming and furniſhing their ſhips and veſſels as in proviſion of food and buying victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be provided neceſſary for the ſaid navigation, they do give them all their favours and aſſiſtance.

"Witneſs myſelf at Weſtminſter, 5th March, in the eleventh year of our reign, or 1495 A.D." As the civil year began on March 25th this would be really in the year 1496 A.D., one year only before the expedition ſailed.

CHAPTER III.

Hypothetical voyage of the Cabots, in 1474 A. D., *previous to the Charter of Henry; ſupported by Sebaſtian Cabot's Map, publiſhed* 1544, *now in Paris: reaſons which ſtrengthen this view. State of England, and of Briſtol, at the period of the Charter.*

THE foregoing is the original charter of Henry VII., which is generally ſuppoſed to have preceded the diſcovery. A contrary theory has been broached, and is upheld by Harris, Pinkerton, Barrow, and others; viz., that the Cabots had, from their own private reſources, ſailed weſtward, and, diſcovering the land, returned haſtily, and, by their repreſentations induced the king to grant them this patent. The two firſt named write as follows:—

Theory of an earlier voyage.

"But the year before that patent was granted, viz., in 1494, John Cabot, with his ſon Sebaſtian, had ſailed from Briſtol upon diſcovery,

Harris, vol. ii. p. 190, ed. 1744.

and had actually seen the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of 'Prima Vista,' or first seen. And on the 24th of June in the same year, he went on shore on an island, which, because it was discovered on that day, he called 'St. John's;' and of this island he reported very truly that the soil was barren, that it yielded little, and that the people wear bearskin clothes and were armed with bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings; but that the coast abounded with fish, and upon this report of his, the before-mentioned patent of March 5, 1496, was granted." Herein is the record of all the voyages muddled up in one statement.

Barrow, "Chronological History of Voyages," p. 32.

Barrow says, "there is no possible way of reconciling the various accounts but by supposing John Cabot to have made one voyage, at least, previous to the date of the patent, and some time between that and the date of the return of Columbus, either in 1494 or 1495."

See Map.

Now, the above statements agree entirely with the inscription on the map of Seb. Cabot in the "Bibliotheque Imperial" of Paris, date

1544, publiſhed during Cabot's lifetime, which is as follows :—

"Terram hanc olim nobis clauſam aperuit Johannes Cabotus Venetus, nec non Sebaſtianus Cabotus ejus filius anno ab orbe redempto, 1494, die vero 24 Junii hora 5, ſub dilucolo quam terram primum viſam appellârunt et inſulam quandam ei oppoſitam Inſulam divi Joannis nominârunt quippe quæ ſolemni die feſto divi Joannis aperte fuit."

Only engraven map of Cabot's in exiſtence at "Bibliotheque Imperial," Paris.

This inſcription cannot be a miſtake in the date, for it is alike in both the Spaniſh and the Latin inſcriptions, and it is abundantly evident that the publiſher of the map conſidered and believed it to be perfectly true that Cabot did make this voyage in 1494. Kochhaf alſo notes this date in his book as having been ſeen by him on a map of Cabot at Oxford.

Kochhaf's teſtimony.

By the courteſy of the officials connected with the above admirable library, and the kindneſs of R. H. Major, Eſq., F.S.A., of the map department of the Britiſh Muſeum, we are enabled to give a fac ſimile of this precious document; "The only engraven copy," ſays Monſieur Taſchereau, "which is known of the map of

Sebaſtian Cabot." If, therefore, this is to be depended on, we muſt antedate the diſcovery by three years, and ſuppoſe, which is probable enough, that immediately on Columbus' return, in March, 1493, as ſoon as the news ſpread, it fired the ambition of the Cabots, and getting ready during the enſuing winter for an adventurous voyage, they ſtarted in the early ſummer of 1494, and diſcovered the land at Cape Breton on June 24, in that year.

Cape Breton probably diſcovered firſt, and that in 1494.

The above view is perfectly conſiſtent with Sebaſtian's deſcription to Ramuſio's friend; nor is it at all at variance with the wording of the firſt charter, but rather the contrary. "They were to 'take five ſhips, to ſet up our banner and enſigns in every village, town, caſtle, iſle, or mainland of them newly found.' * * * to trade and pay a fifth of the profits to the king."

For an uncertain voyage of diſcovery, five ſhips would be needleſs: for trading purpoſes with a newly-diſcovered region as a mutual defence, and a politic diſplay of power before the heathen and infidels we can underſtand it. Beſides, in the Venetian envoy's letter, written

after the return from the firſt voyage under the charter, he is ſpoken of as "a man who has good ſkill in diſcovering new iſlands;" a retroſpective view, which points back to ſome diſcovery previous to the one juſt then made.

"Venetian Calendar."

Again, in the "Spaniſh State Papers," vol. i. p. 177, we have corroborative teſtimony which carries us back actually beyond the date of Columbus. Don Pedro de Ayala, a Spaniſh envoy in England, in a letter to his ſovereigns Ferdinand and Iſabella, dated July 25, 1498, ſays "That the people of Briſtol ſent out every year two or three or four light ſhips, caravelas, in ſearch of the iſland of Brazil and the ſeven cities, according to the fancy of that Italian Cabot, and that they have done for the laſt ſeven years."

Pedro de Ayala, the Spaniſh envoy, ſays Briſtol and Cabot ſent out ſhips in ſearch as early as 1491, one year before Columbus, vide "Spaniſh State Papers," vol. i. p. 177

Whether the father or the ſon was the moving ſpirit of the enterpriſe, muſt be left largely to conjecture; one thing ſeems to be quite certain, Lewis and Sanctus, who are named in the patent, did not ſail in the ſhip; it was either John and Sebaſtian, or Sebaſtian alone, to whom the honour of the diſcovery belongs.

Though the charter was granted in 1495, yet from ſome unknown reaſon, moſt probably the diſordered ſtate of the country, the expedition did not ſet ſail until early in the ſummer of 1497; and then in but one ſhip, the now famous "Matthew," of and from Briſtol.

This was only one year, ſee page 26.

It was the cuſtom in England (*vide* the "Venetian Calendar") to hire mariners by the voyage; it is not wonderful then, or even matter of ſurpriſe to us to find, as we ſhall, in the courſe of the narrative, that the men were in a hurry to return, and wiſhed to ſhorten their perilous ſearch as much as poſſible.

"Venetian Calendar."

Venice acted more wiſely, paying her ſailors by the month and inflicting a penalty of 200 ducats on any captain who hired men by the voyage.

It may help us to a better underſtanding of the greatneſs of the undertaking, if inſtead of looking at it from our ſtand point in this year of grace 1869, we fancy ourſelves living in the cloſe of the fifteenth century, and, as in a panorama, view the varied pictures it preſents at that period.

Eraſmus.

Eraſmus, in his letters, gives us ſome pic-

tureſque peeps at our anceſtor's life, more pungent than pleaſant. He ſays: "The Engliſh conſtruct their rooms ſo as to admit of no thorough draft; before I was thirty years old, if I ſlept in a room which had been ſhut up for months without ventilation, I was immediately attacked with fever." Jortin's Eraſmus, p. 60.

It was his opinion (and a moſt ſenſible one it was) that the impure atmoſphere of the dwellings cauſed the deadly peſtilence called the "ſweating ſickneſs," which broke out about 1486. In Briſtol it carried off vaſt numbers of the inhabitants; both here and all over the country, gentle as well as ſimple fell victims. MS. Calendars. Evans' "Hiſtory of Briſtol."

Thoſe attacked moſtly died in about three hours: and many towns loſt half their inhabitants. Seyer, vol. ii. p. 203, ſays, in London two mayors and four aldermen died of it. It laſted little more than a month.

Strangers were ſaid to be free from danger: was it, perchance, becauſe of their greater perſonal cleanlineſs? for whilſt the houſes of the Engliſh gentry were in the ſtate deſcribed by Eraſmus, we cannot conceive that any claſs of the community were cleanly in their perſons.

Hear what the ſcholar from Rotterdam ſays:

Jortin's Eraſmus.

"The dirt, of even the better claſs houſes, is abominable; the floors are moſtly of clay, ſtrewed with ruſhes; freſh ruſhes are periodically laid over them, but the old ones remain as a foundation for perhaps twenty years together, amidſt which lies, unmoleſted, an ancient collection of beer, greaſe, fragments, bones, ſpittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and everything naſty!"

What wonder that in towns crowded with ſuch homes, peſtilence was ſo frequent and ſo deadly. The ſame keen obſerver ſays alſo:—

"It would contribute more to the health of the people if they ate and drank leſs, and lived more on freſh meat than ſalt."

Capello's "Italian Relation of the Iſland of England," p. 22.

The city feaſts were as magnificent in the days of Henry VII. as they are now, and quite as ſtupid. Franceſco Capello, the Venetian ambaſſador here in 1502, ſays in his relation of England: "At the Lord Mayor's banquet in the Guildhall a thouſand people were ſeated at table, and the dinner laſted four hours!"

At the ſheriffs' dinner, he ſpeaks alſo of the infinite profuſion of victuals, and notices "how

punctiliouſly they ſat in their order, and the extraordinary ſilence of every one."

"They think no greater honour can be conferred or received, than to invite others to eat with them; they would ſooner ſpend five or ſix ducats to provide an entertainment for a perſon, than a groat to aſſiſt him in diſtreſs." Ibid. p. 22.

"They have alſo," ſays he, "the incredible courteſy of remaining with their heads uncovered, with an admirable grace, whilſt they talk to each other."

Before leaving this part of our ſubject we will give a bill of the feaſt of one of the archbiſhops of the land, originally publiſhed in a memoir of the Rev. Dr. Standfaſt, chaplain to Charles I. and rector of Chriſtchurch in the city of Briſtol. The original account was then in the Tower of London.

"George Nevill, brother to the great Earl of Warwick, on his inſtalment into his archbiſhoprick of York in the year 1470, made a feaſt for the nobility, gentry and clergy, where he ſpent:— Briſtol "Chronicle," Aug. 9, 1760.

300 qrs. of Wheat.	104 ton of Wine.
300 ton of Ale.	1 pipe ſpiced Wine.

80 fat Oxen.
6 wild Bulls.
300 Pigs.
1004 Wethers.
300 Hogs.
300 Calves.
3000 Geeſe.
3000 Capons.
100 Peacocks.
200 Cranes.
200 Kids.
2000 Chicken.
4000 Pigeons.
4000 Rabbits.
204 Bitterns.
4000 Ducks.
400 Hernſies.
200 Pheaſants.
500 Partridges.
400 Woodcocks.
4400 Plovers.
100 Curlews.
100 Quails.
1000 Egrets.
1200 Rees.[1]
4000 Bucks, Does, and Roebucks.
155 Hot Veniſon paſties.
1000 diſhes of jellies.
4000 Cold Veniſon paſties.
2000 Hot Cuſtards.
4000 Cold do.
400 Tarts.
300 Pike.
300 Bream.
8 Seals.
4 Porpuſſes.

At this feaſt the Earl of Warwick was ſteward; the Earl of Bedford, treaſurer; the Lord Haſtings, comptroller; with many noble officers, ſervitors.

[1] Rees. *Sic.* orig. *Q.* is this the female of the Ruff, Ruffs and Reeves?

"Her olives with her wyn trees
Theſe foxes brent with her rees."
—*Curſon Mundie MSS.* Trin. Coll. Camb. f. 45.

There were 1000 cooks.
62 kitcheners.
515 ſcullions."

Whether feaſting, ſuch as above deſcribed, and a taſte for ſuch unctuous delicacies as "ſeals and porpuſſes" be a virtue or not, moſt people will allow patriotiſm to be an undoubted one.

Our national pride is not a thing of yeſterday. Eraſmus ſays:

Eraſmus' Letter, 1527.

"Above all things, take care not to cenſure or deſpiſe any individual things in the country; the natives are very patriotic, and not without reaſon."

Grocyne of Briſtol. Firſt public Greek Profeſſor at Oxford.

Grocyne, a Briſtol man, was one of Eraſmus' moſt intimate friends in this country, and was the firſt public profeſſor of the Greek tongue at Oxon when the great foreigner was there, who in his epiſtles owns him "pro patrono ſuo et preceptore." We may be pretty well ſure that the Briſtol man then, even as now, would ſtand up for his country, and, "not without reaſon."

Italian relation.

Capello alſo ſays: "They think there are no other men but themſelves, and no other world but England; and whenever they ſee a

handſome foreigner, they ſay he looks like an Engliſhman."

Good, quaint old John Stow, the tailor, who, thank God, forſook his profeſſion and turned antiquary—(though he had, it is ſaid, in conſequence, to ſtand and beg at the church doors for his living) ſays:—

Stow's "Survey of London," ed. 1633, p. 84.

"On feſtival days and the vigils of feſtival days, after the ſun-ſetting, there were generally made bonfires in the ſtreets, every man beſtowing wood and labour towards them; the wealthier, before their doors, near to theſe fires, would ſet out tables with ſweet bread and good drink plentifully; whereto they would invite their neighbours and paſſengers alſo, to ſit and be merry with them in great familiarity, praiſing God for the benefits beſtowed on them."

Bacon, p. 242.

Henry VII. exhibits himſelf repeatedly in the character of a royal ſwindler, on the teſtimony of Lord Bacon; and certainly ſome very queer laws were in force.

11th Henry VII. cap. 8.

One, during his reign, enacted that "Any one lending money for a time and taking anything for the ſaid loan ſhould loſe one half of the money he had lent."

Another forbad coin, bullion or jewels, to be carried out of the realm above a certain ſum, and our good friend Eraſmus himſelf, with his hard-earned and well-won £20 in gold, was ſtopped at Dover and all his money but the allowed ſum of ſix angels, was taken from him. 4th Henry VII. cap. 23. Laycey's Jortin, p. 13.

It is therefore evident that the capital of the country was hoarded. "The king died worth £1,800,000, an enormous ſum in thoſe days." Bacon, and "Excerpta Hiſtorica."

Capello ſays again, "The viſible wealth of the people was the admiration of foreigners (it had migrated from Venice by this time, 1502); the ſmall innkeepers ſerved you on ſilver diſhes, with ſilver tankards, and each tavern, however humble, would contain £100 worth of ſilver plate." Italian relation pp. 29, 42.

In Briſtol, vagrants were ſet to work in priſon; thieves were proſecuted without mercy; yet never was murder and robbery ſo rife before or ſince. Seyer's "History of Briſtol."

The cucking-ſtool in the ditch under the caſtle walls was uſed for fraudulent brewers, and diſhoneſt bakers were dragged through the town on a ſledge (with their falſe ſcales, Briſtol Charter, Edward III. 24th April, 1347.

&c., ſuſpended over their heads), to be pelted as in the pillory.

Briſtol: its

The old city was mainly confined to the area between the two rivers, and Temple, Thomas, and Redcliff, which three pariſhes were bounded by a wall and moat that ran from St. John's Lane, Redcliff Hill, through Portwall Lane and Temple Gate to the Tower Harritz.

Woods,

All round the city the little hills covered with woods came cloſe to its gates ; wild deer, herded in Clifton Wood, whilſt the low marſhy lands ſkirting the river were frequented by wild fowl.

River,

The tidal waters, innocent of ſewage, abounded in fiſh, amongſt which the ſilvery ſalmon, rolling porpoiſe, and royal ſturgeon, held higheſt rank.

Commerce,

" Great ſhippes in full ſail " were borne on the tide right up into the city, and no doubt many a bale of rich goods that never paid duty to the king went in by night at the quaint mullioned windows of the ancient houſes that overhung the old bridge.

Archery Ground.

From King Street to the Grove was a low flat marſh, where ſtood the archery butts, to

which the citizens and their prentices reſorted for practice, alſo for running the quintain, ſword and buckler play, and bowls. The graver ſort promenaded under the trees of College Green, which, reaching to the Carmelite Friary on St. Auguſtine's Back (Colſton Hall), had few buildings thereon ſave the monaſtery, and the Hoſpital of the Gaunts: there they liſtened to the ſermon preached from the great ſtone pulpit under the trees in the green, or watched the progreſs the maſons made in building the church of St. Auguſtine.

College Green.

In 1484 a vaſt flood inundated the city and drowned over 200 men, women and children.

Great flood, Oct. 15th 1484.

Great nobles with their feudal retainers or friendly neighbours fought pitched battles with each other, careleſs as to what the king thought or ſaid.

One ſuch was fought at this period at Nibley Green, where Lord Liſle was ſlain by Thomas Marquis of Berkeley, Earl Marſhal of England, whoſe next brother, Maurice, afterwards fifth earl, had married a daughter of a late mayor of Briſtol; and ſo the Briſtol men went out and took part in the fight.

Battle of Nibley Green.

Maurice, Lord Berkeley, marries Philip Mead's daughter, who had great property at Thornbury.

The corporation, as a body, knew how to enjoy themſelves: juſt peep into the Compter or Tolzey, a kind of open colonnade, called alſo the Counter, oppoſite the High Croſs (or rather, exactly oppoſite the preſent Council Houſe), where the mayor and ſheriff ſit daily from eight till eleven to hear complaints between parties.

Robert Ricart's Calendars.

But now it is after dinner, on St. Nicholas' day; they (the corporation) have dined and are merry, and while they wait for the coming of the biſhop, with whom they are going to St. Nicholas to hear evenſong, they amuſe themſelves by playing at dice, which the worthy town clerk, R. Ricart, who tells the ſtory, ſays he furniſhed at a penny the raffle.

He was town clerk up to 1503.

Fancy the learned town clerk handing round the ſets of dice, and the worthy mayor telling the ſheriff to keep his eye open and ſee that the right reverend father does not drop on them and catch them in the act.

Wm. Herbert, A.D. 1527, afterwards Earl of Pembroke.

Coming from the "wraſtling" with the mayor, William Vaughan, who had been ſheriff, was killed by a hot-headed Welſh nobleman for ſome fancied ſlight: perchance he thruſt his

tradeſman form betwixt the wind and his nobility.

The principal manufactures of the city were ſoap, cloth and blankets, which latter were invented by the Brothers Blanket, living in Tucker Street; where alſo the firſt William Canning lived, and laid the foundation of the family's wealth as a cloth manufacturer or Toucker.

By Dr. Glyn, of Cambridge.

From the parchments recovered from Chatterton's mother, and alſo from Barrett the hiſtorian, by Dr. Glyn, we find that "Tapetes, teſterbed, ſheets and feather pillows (mappas, table-cloths), manutergia, napkins," &c. which are ſuppoſed not to have belonged to perſons of the rank of traders, &c. were not uncommon in Briſtol, and were repeatedly left by will.

Luxuries of the Briſtol merchants.

There would ſeem, therefore, to have been more of cleanlineſs and refinement in Briſtol than Eraſmus met with in Oxford and London.

Theſe are ſome few glimpſes into the ſocial life and times when Cabot's patent was granted and his diſcoveries were being made.

CHAPTER IV.

Claims of John, and of Sebaſtian, ſeverally ſtated, as to the honour of being the firſt diſcoverers. Sebaſtian's portrait; arguments therefrom; his map; reaſons baſed thereon. Hiſtoric evidence and opinions. Additional reaſons given in favour of a previous voyage. The land firſt diſcovered, Nova Scotia, and not Newfoundland. The Iſle of St. John, Prince Edward's Iſland. The voyage of 1497, *explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the river beyond Quebec; Continent diſcovered fourteen months before Columbus. Return of the expedition.*

NOW ariſes the queſtion, as John Cabot's name ſtands firſt in this patent of 1495, and that of 1498 recites his name only, does it neceſſarily follow that he ſailed with this firſt expedition, or was he merely the rich merchant adventurer, whoſe foreſight, money and character eſtabliſhed the adventure and won for it the patronage of the mercenary king?

Many argue that he ſtayed and managed the buſineſs at home; certainly Sebaſtian gives us no hint of his father's preſence in either voyage; but, modeſt, gentle and unaſſuming, as all his life proves him to have been, ſpeaks of the diſcovery ever in the firſt perſon and in the ſingular number.

Our Engliſh hiſtorians ſeem, in this matter, to have been entirely led aſtray by Hakluyt, who, copying from John Stow, perverted the text (thinking it was wrong), and placed the ſkill, talents, and ſeamanſhip of the ſon, to the credit of the father. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 9.

This ſeems to have been done ſimply becauſe he found the father's name firſt in the patent of 1495, and ſtanding alone in the patent of 1497, and without the ſlighteſt deſign on the part of the worthy prebendary to injure the fair fame of the ſon.

And juſt as if one ſheep jump the hedge the whole flock follow, ſo have nearly all our naval hiſtorians, copying and enlarging upon Hakluyt, got further and further from the truth; the tale of the three black crows has been verified in this caſe.

Now look at the two paſſages ſide by ſide:—

Stow, 1605, 1631, and Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 9.

Stow, A.D. ed. 1605, pp. 804, alſo edit. 1631, pp. 483, ſays:—"This year Sebaſtian Gaboto, a Genoas ſon, born at Briſtol, profeſſing himſelf to be expert in the knowledge of the circuit of the world, and iſlands of the ſame, as by his charts, and other reaſonable demonſtrations he ſhewed," &c. &c.

Hakluyt, profeſſing to copy this, and giving it as his authority, does it thus:—"In the 13 year of King Henry VII., by means of one John Cabot, a Venetian, which made himſelf very expert, and cunning in knowledge of circuit of the world, and iſlands of the ſame, as by a ſea card, and other demonſtrations reaſonable he ſhewed," &c. &c.

Strange to ſay, after making this alteration in the text, Hakluyt retains the original title of the paſſage.

"A note of Sebaſtian Cabot's firſt diſcovery of part of the Indies, taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabyan's Chronicle, not hitherto printed, which is in the cuſtody of Mr. John Stow, a diligent preſerver of antiquities."

An unpubliſhed treatiſe of Hakluyt's, dated 1584, has recently been diſcovered (ſee Wood's Maine Hiſt. Society, 1868), in which he vehe-

mently appeals to the Engliſh government to engage in colonization, and he more than once affirms that the firſt diſcovery was made in 1496, and by Sebaſtian Cabot. "A great part of the continent as well as of the iſlands was firſt diſcovered for the king of England by Sebaſtian Gabote, an Engliſhman, born in Briſtowe, ſon of John Gabote, in 1496; naye, more, Gabote diſcovered this large tracte of firm lande two yeares before Columbus ſaw any part of the continent."

Maine Hiſt. Society, 1868. Hakluyt's heretofore unpubliſhed treatiſe.

We do not ſeek to rob John Cabot of a leaf of his laurels, or detract from his fame; he was the head of the firm, wiſe and prudent; and no doubt counſelled his ſon and entered (con amore) into his plans.

It has never been hinted that all of the ſons were engaged in this firſt voyage, but the preſumption is as likely that they, his partners, would do ſo, as that the father, who was now getting into the ſere and yellow leaf, would thus encounter dangers enough to frighten the youthful, and daunt the robuſt.

John Cabot now an old man.

Sir G. Peckham, indeed, as copied by Hakluyt, ſays: "In the time of the queen's grand-

Sir G. Peckham.

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 165.

father, Henry VII., of worthy memory, letters patent were, by his majeſty, granted to Sir John Cabota, an Italian; to Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sanctus, his three ſons, to diſcover remote and barbarous heathen countries, which diſcovery was afterwards executed to the uſe of the crown of England in the ſaid king's time by Sebaſtian and Sanctus."

The earlieſt Engliſh writers on the ſubject, as Stow, Willes, Eden, and Sir H. Gilbert, mention Sebaſtian as the diſcoverer; ſo alſo does Sanuto, the Venetian.

Venetian Calendars.

Thanks to the painſtaking and ſcholarly reſearches of Rawdon Brown, we have now, from the Venetian archives, irrefragable proof that in an expedition from England, under the auſpices of King Henry VII. in the year 1497, the continent was diſcovered and taken poſſeſſion of for England.

Aug. 24, 1497. A great diſcoverer of new iſlands previous to this.

The firſt notice is under date Auguſt 24, 1497. "Alſo ſome months ago his Majeſty Henry VII. ſent out a Venetian, who is a very good mariner, *and has good ſkill in diſcovering new iſlands*, and he has returned ſafe, and has found two very large and fertile new iſlands;

having likewiſe diſcovered the ſeven cities, 400 leagues from England, on the weſtern paſſage. The next ſpring his Majeſty means to ſend him with fifteen or twenty ſhips." (P. 260.)

"Venetian Calendar," p. 260, from the "Sforza Archives."

The Venetian envoy would claſs the ſon as a Venetian. It may mean one or other, or both; ſo that the above is quite as applicable to Sebaſtian as to John.

Where the ſeven cities, 400 leagues from England, or a little more than half way, could be, unleſs it was in Iceland, we cannot conjecture.

Ibid.

But we have confeſſedly a harder nut to crack in diſcovering the letter of Lorenzo Paſqualigo to his brother (p. 262, ſame volume), who ſays: "The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ſhip from Briſtol in queſt of new iſlands, is returned, and ſays that 700 leagues hence he diſcovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham; he coaſted for 300 leagues, and landed; ſaw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the king certain ſnares which had been ſet to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he alſo found ſome

"Venetian Calendar," p. 262, from "Sanuto Diaries," vol. i. p. 573.

felled trees, wherefore he ſuppoſed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ſhip in alarm.

"Sanuto Diaries," entered therein Sept. 11th, 1497, written from London, Aug. 23rd, 1497.

"He was three months on the voyage, and on his return he saw two iſlands to ſtarboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was ſhort of proviſions.

"He ſays that the tides are ſlack, and do not flow as they do here. The King of England is much pleaſed with this intelligence.

"The King has promiſed that in the ſpring our countryman ſhall have ten ſhips, armed to his order, and at his requeſt has conceded him all the priſoners, except ſuch as are confined for high treaſon, to man his fleet.

"The King has alſo given him money wherewith to amuſe himſelf till then, and he is now at Briſtol with his wife, who is alſo a Venetian, and with his ſons.

"His name is Zuan Cabot, and he is ſtyled the Great Admiral; vaſt honour is paid him; he dreſſes in ſilk, and theſe Engliſh run after him like mad people, ſo that he can enliſt as many of them as he pleaſes, and a number of our own.

"The diſcoverer of theſe places planted on

his new-found lands a large croſs, with one flag of England and another of St. Mark, by reaſon of his being a Venetian, ſo that our banner has floated very far afield. 23rd Auguſt, 1497."

Now the "*amor patria*" is very ſtrong here. The writer knows John as the head of the family and as his countryman, and enlarges on his honours and ſucceſſes.

It ſo happens that we have one little gauge to teſt the letter by. In the privy purſe expenſe of Henry VII. Auguſt 10, 1497, is an entry of the ſum paid: "To him who found the new iſle, £10,"—a ſum perfectly in keeping with the parſimonious character of the King, but utterly inſufficient to keep the "Great Admiral, dreſſed in ſilk, with his wife and family, till the fleet is ready next year at Briſtol." Nicholas' "Excerpta Hiſtorica."

No doubt the wary Venetian would conceal, as Eraſmus did, the ſmallneſs of the pittance, and leave it to be inferred that one more commenſurate had been received. Layceys Eraſmus.

If the other particulars of the letter are not therefore more correct than we have proved

John Cabot and ſons.

this portion to be, we may yet conceive that John Cabot took no active part in the expedition, and that the acts and deeds of his ſon for the *trading firm* are here recorded as the acts of John, the known and reſpected head of the ſaid *firm*.

Sebaſtian an active partner.

At all events, even if John did go, he being at that time, wherever born, a regiſtered Venetian citizen, he went for England, and his Briſtol born ſon and partner ſailed with him, ſharing not only the perſonal riſks, but alſo that of property; and if John Cabot is entitled to honour, the moiety of it muſt equitably belong to his ſon Sebaſtian.

His portrait by Holbein, ſee frontiſpiece.

Hanging in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall were once two mute evidences, neither of which can be ſaid to authoritatively decide this queſtion. The firſt is a portrait of Sebaſtian, by Holbein, with this inſcription: "Effigies Seb. Caboti, Angli filii Johan. Caboti, Veneti militis aurati, primi inventoris terræ novæ ſub Henrice VII. Anglia Rege."

Purchas' "Pilgrims," vol. iii. p. 807.

The other, the map of Sebaſtian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, in which the inſcription

aſcribed it to the joint agency of both John and Sebaſtian.

Miſſing maps ſuppoſed to have found their way to Spain.

The picture, of which we give an engraving, is ſtill in exiſtence in America; "the original map, and the chartes and mappes and diſcourſes, drawn and written by himſelf, were in the cuſtody of the Worſhipful Maſter William Worthington," who was, at the cloſe of Sebaſtian Cabot's life, a ſharer in his penſion and office, and who is ſuppoſed (for a conſideration) to have given them up to Philip of Spain.

Map in this volume.

We have already ſeen that in the map of Sebaſtian Cabot, publiſhed in 1544, moſt probably under his immediate ſuperviſion, in Spain, the diſcovery is attributed to both the father and the ſon.

Sir H. Gilbert on the North-Weſt Paſſage, A.D. 1576.

The brave and chivalrous Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was the contemporary of Sebaſtian, ſays, in referring to Cabot's original map, "Furthermore, Sebaſtian Cabot, by his perſonal experience and travel, hath ſet forth and deſcribed this paſſage in his charts, which are yet to be ſeen in the Queen's Majeſty's Privy Gallery at Whitehall, &c. &c."

Portrait of Sebaſtian as Worſhipful Governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company.

Now for the evidence of the portrait: it was painted by Holbein, at a time when Sebaſtian was the Worſhipful Governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, and, in his official capacity, had under him the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Steward of the Houſehold, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the Lord High Treaſurer of England, who were his ſubordinate aſſiſtants; and all belonged to the company.

He was alſo the higheſt naval officer in Spain.

He had alſo for many years held the higheſt naval office in Spain; and whilſt there is no record of his having been knighted by an Engliſh monarch, it is quite poſſible that he might have been a knight of Spain or of Venice; one had her knights of the golden fleece, the other her knights of the golden ſtole.

Is ſaid to have been a knight.

In one of the ſtate papers about 1660, he is referred to as a knight: "Sir Sebaſtian Cabot, in the year 1497, employed by Henry VII., &c. &c."

More probably John was one of the patrician arbalaſt men appointed to each London galley, the captains of which were alſo always entitled "Ser." See "Venetian Calendar," p. 74.

On the other hand, Campbell, in his "Lives of the Admirals," and Dr. Henry, in his "Hiſtory of Britain," tell us that John Cabot was knighted, but there is no record of the fact on the rolls.

One ſtrong objection has been made to the knighthood of either of them; and Biddle warmly contends, that if the inſcription meant that the title had been conferred, it would have been Eques, and not Militis.

Biddle's view on this ſubject conſidered. See his "Memoir of Cabot," pp. 182, 325.

That this objection is not valid, any one who viſits the Temple and looks at the Benchers' coats of arms, will be at once convinced; the fact being, that when a member of the bar is knighted the term Miles is uſed to this day; and though Eques is the herald's, Miles is invariably the legal deſignation.

To whom, then, does the latter part of the inſcription belong? We believe to the man whom the picture repreſents; and now let us turn to the account which he is ſaid to have given to a ſtrange gentleman, who, curious in the art of navigation, called on him when he was living in the city of Seville, and years afterwards retailed the information which Sebaſtian Cabot then gave him, to a circle of admiring friends in the villa of the celebrated Italian poet, Fracaſtoro, Ramuſio, the hiſtorian, being preſent; who ſays:—

Cabot's ſtatement to a ſtranger at Seville.

Fracaſtoro the poet.

"It would be inexcuſable in me if I did not

relate a high and admirable diſcourſe which, ſome *few months ago*, it was my good fortune to hear in company with the excellent architect, Michael de St. Michael, in the ſweet and romantic country ſeat of Hieronymo Fracaſtoro, named Caphi, ſituated near Verona, whilſt we ſat on the top of a hill commanding a view of the whole of the Lago di Garda. * * * *

"Ramuſio," vol. i. fol. 414 D, ed. 1554. See "Plata and Florida."

"We found him on our arrival ſitting in company with a certain gentleman whoſe name, from motives of delicacy and reſpect, I conceal. He was, however, a profound philoſopher and mathematician. * * * * * At this point, after the ſtranger had made a pauſe of a few minutes, he turned to us and ſaid:—

The ſtranger's opinion of Seb. Cabot's abilities.

"'Do you not know, regarding this project of going to India by the north-weſt, what was formerly achieved by your fellow-citizen, the Venetian, a moſt extraordinary man, and ſo deeply converſant in everything connected with navigation and the ſcience of coſmography, that in theſe days he hath not his equal in Spain; inſomuch that for his ability he is preferred above all other pilots that ſail to the Weſt Indies, who may not paſs thither without his

licenſe, on which account he is denominated Piloto-mayor, or Grand Pilot?"

His ſkill in making charts.

"When to this queſtion we replied that we knew him not, the ſtranger proceeded to tell us that, being ſome years ago in the city of Seville, he was deſirous to gain an acquaintance with the navigations of the Spaniards, when he learnt that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian born, named Sebaſtian Cabot, who had the charge of thoſe things, being an expert man in the ſcience of navigation, and one who could make charts for the ſea with his own hand.

Has a pleaſing, courteous manner.

"Upon this report of him," continued he, "I ſought his acquaintance and found him a pleaſant and courteous perſon, who loaded me with kindneſs and ſhowed me many things; among the reſt a large map of the world, with the navigations of the Portugueſe and Spaniards minutely laid down upon it; and in exhibiting this to me he informed me that his father, many years ago, having left Venice to dwell in England to follow the trade of merchandiſes, had taken him to London while he was yet very young, yet having, nevertheleſs, ſome knowledge of letters, of humanity, and of the

The fame of Columbus excites in him a ſpirit of emulation.

ſphere. 'And when my father died,' ſaid he, 'in that time when news was brought that Don Chriſtopher Colonus, Genoeſe, had diſcovered the coaſts of Indies, whereof was great talk in all the court of King Henry VII., who then reigned, inſomuch that all men, with great admiration, affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human, to ſail by the Weſt into the Eaſt, where ſpices grow, by a way that was never known before; by this fame and report there increaſed in my heart a great flame of deſire to attempt ſome notable thing; and, underſtanding by the ſphere that, if I ſhould ſail by way of the north-weſt I ſhould, by a ſhorter track, come into India, I imparted my ideas to the king, who immediately commanded two caravels to be furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the voyage, being much pleaſed therewith. This happened in 1496, in the early part of ſummer, and I began to ſail towards the north-weſt with the idea that the firſt land I ſhould make would be Cathay, from which I intended afterwards to direct my courſe to the Indies; but after the lapſe of ſeveral days, having diſcovered it, I found that the coaſt ran towards

Firſt idea of a North-Weſt paſſage.

the north, to my great diſappointment. From thence, ſailing along it to aſcertain if I could find any gulf to run into, I could diſcover none; and thus, having proceeded as far as 56° under the pole, and ſeeing that here the coaſt trended towards the Eaſt, I deſpaired of diſcovering any paſſage, and after this turned back to examine the ſame coaſt in its direction towards the equinoctial; always with the ſame object of finding a paſſage to the Indies, and thus at laſt I reached the country at preſent named Florida, where, ſince my proviſions began to fail me, I took the reſolution of returning to England.

Baffled in his ſearch.

Sails towards the equinoctial, and thence home.

" ' On arriving in that country I found great tumults, occaſioned by the riſing of the common people and the war in Scotland; nor was there any more talk of a voyage to theſe parts.

Perkin Warbeck's inſurrection.

" ' For this reaſon I departed into Spain to their moſt Catholic Majeſties, Ferdinand and Iſabella; who having learnt what I had accompliſhed, received me into their ſervice and deſpatched me on a voyage of diſcovery to the coaſt of Brazil, where I found an exceeding deep and mighty river, called at preſent ' La Plata,'

Cabot ſeeks ſervice in Spain.

Explores the Rio de la Plata.

into which I ſailed and explored its courſe into the continent more than ſix ſcore leagues. * * *

Makes many voyages.

" ' After this I made many other voyages, which I now pretermit, and, growing old, I give myſelf to reſt from ſuch labours, becauſe there are now many young and vigorous ſeamen of good experience, by whoſe forwardneſs I do rejoice in the fruit of my labours, and reſt with the charge of this office, as you ſee.' "

A thrice-told tale; fifty years old when written by Ramuſio, who only gives it as a general outline; hence not to be literally relied on.

This viſit muſt have been made to Cabot ſome ſhort time before his leaving Spain, which was in 1548; or, in other words, his narration to the ſtranger was between forty and fifty years after his firſt viſit to America, and was evidently a general reſumé of his three voyages to the north, as well as the one to Brazil.

It was not told to Ramuſio until ſome years afterwards, nor does he write it until a lapſe of months had intervened, and then modeſtly ſays that he does not, and cannot, pledge himſelf to accuracy of detail.

" The which diſcourſe I have not the courage to write down as fully as I heard it, for that I ſhould need a capacity and a memory which I do not poſſeſs; but I will do my beſt, notwith-

ſtanding, to ſketch out briefly, as it were, the heads of what I remember of it."

We could not, for the above and other reaſons, expect abſolute accuracy as to the date or the latitudes, but we do certainly gather from the ſimply-told narrative, that Sebaſtian conſidered himſelf the diſcoverer, "not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay."

Whether John Cabot ſailed as Captain-General of the expedition, or not, one thing is certain; Sebaſtian, inſpired with an honourable emulation of the fame of Columbus, was there, we think, as his father's *alter ego*, as well as his partner in the adventure.

The good ſhip "Matthew" ſails from Briſtol.

Was it then in 1494 or in 1497 that the good ſhip "Matthew," ſailed out of Avonmouth, Briſtol? If in only one of theſe years, which was it? The charters would certainly ſeem to decide in favour of 1497, if it be one only. But we incline to think, for reaſons already given, as well as for thoſe which follow, that it is more than probable that a voyage was made in each of the years above mentioned, and that the firſt diſcovery was really on the 24th of June, 1494: for if it was on the 24th

Reaſons in favour of there being two voyages, one in 1494 and one in 1497.

June, 1497, and the ſhip was anything like the time on her paſſage home which ſhe took coming out, there was only three weeks to explore the three hundred leagues of a ſtrange coaſt, in a ſea ſubject to fogs, and in which they would have to guard againſt ſurpriſes of all ſorts, and literally to feel their way as they ſurveyed and examined its rugged ſhores, hitherto untrodden by any European; a feat that would be impoſſible in theſe days of ſteam, much more in a ſmall caravel, of the ſlow-ſailing type of that age.

Paſqualigo tells us they were three months on the voyage; yet we find the head of the firm, John, at the court in London, and in poſſeſſion of the reward on the 10th of Auguſt, 1497. The land was ſeen, it is ſaid, on June 24th; if they were three months on the voyage, they ſailed about the 10th of May, and were thirty-four days beating out; take the ſame period for their return, including the landing at Briſtol and the two days' journey to London, and it will juſt give three weeks to do what we venture to ſay no hydrographer of the preſent day, with all the knowledge which

experience has brought, and all the appliances of ſcience, would venture to attempt in leſs than as many months.

Let us try and trace the voyage; the map already referred to ſadly diſarranges all preconceived opinions, but gives us the route, and ſome of the anchorages of the expedition.

Firſt land ſeen, Cape North.

By it we learn that the adventurers ſailed nearly due weſt; that the firſt land made was the Cape North, the northern extremity of Cape Breton, and the iſland oppoſite the ſame (*not lying in front of the land, but further on*) was Prince Edward's Iſland, which was then named by them and long afterwards known as the Iſle of St. John; that they ſkirted this island, and ſailed along the ſouthern coaſt on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, beyond the ſite on which Quebec at preſent ſtands; that returning by the northern ſhore of the Gulf, "ſtill trending eaſtward," they coaſted to the latitude of 53°, and then, ſailing by Newfoundland Iſland, which they took to be and depict as an archipelago, they continued their courſe ſouthward to the Cheſapeake, and ſo home.

Explores the eſtuary of the St. Lawrence.

Takes Newfoundland Iſland to be an archipelago.

The "Prima Viſta" then was the moſt

northerly point of Cape Breton, and the point ſtruck gave them a view at once of Nova Scotia and of Prince Edward's Iſland.

The voyagers in the "Matthew," 1497, ſee no inhabitants.

We muſt here carefully draw the line between this voyage and that deſcribed by Peter Martyr, where the inhabitants, beaſts, and fiſhes were ſeen; that, we ſhall ſhow, was on the next voyage, in 1498, after this exploring one in 1497, for on this it is expreſsly ſtated, by Paſqualigo, that after ſailing on the coaſt for more than 300 leagues, they ſaw no inhabitant, but finding ſome felled trees and a ſnare for game, together with a needle for making nets, they retreated haſtily to their ſhips, and brought the two prizes, the needle and the ſnare, home to England, and ſhewed them to the king, paſſing on their way two iſlands to ſtarboard, which the Venetian Envoy deſcribes as being large and fertile new iſlands (does he mean in contradiſtinction to thoſe found in 1494?), but being preſſed for time, and ſhort of proviſions, they haſtened home.

"Venetian Calendar," p. 260.

The tides.

They alſo told the king that the tides were ſlack on that coaſt, and did not flow as they do in England.

The intelligent reader will bear in mind that a large portion of the coaſt thus ſurveyed was the ſouthern part of Labrador, and the rugged ſhores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which later writers deſcribe as a heap of bare and frightful rocks, a region which even now is, and ever will be, moſt ſparſely populated.

Cartwright's "Sixteen Years in Labrador." "Gazetteer of the World," article "Labrador."

When the voyagers got back into a more genial clime, where they probably ſaw the large and fertile lands, there were two cogent reaſons why they ſhould not land, but at once hurry homewards; had time permitted, doubtleſs they would here have found inhabitants.

Newfoundland Iſland, thought then to be an archipelago.

Sebaſtian Cabot was, as we have ſhewn, in the very prime and vigour of manhood in 1494, being then twenty-two years of age. The above reaſons, combined with the date on the exiſting old map, harmonizing as they do with Cabot's own ſtatement as to the lively emulation cauſed by the diſcoveries of Columbus, ſatisfy us that the firſt land ſeen was Nova Scotia, in the year of grace 1494; and that Sebaſtian was one of its diſcoverers, as well as a ſharer in the ſubſequent expedition.

Sebaſtian's age in 1494, when the firſt diſcovery was made.

CHAPTER V.

Was John Cabot knighted? his death. Sebaſtian in ſole command of the expedition under the Charter of 1498. *This Charter altogether miſunderſtood; is a rider on the previous one, allowing colonization, and encouraging trade; annuls no previous privilege; proofs; route now taken by Iceland; lands the emigrants; ſails north, enters and partially explores Hudſon's Bay, gets among the ice, crew terrified; returns to Baccalaos, deſcribes natives, huge fiſh, large bears, &c. &c. Corroborative teſtimony; coaſts ſouthward, to Florida and home.*

"Venetian Calendar," 12 Ap. 1485.

An admiral for whoſe board and not his pay he is reſponſible.

The ſalary of the admiral paid as uſual by the maſters, p. 148.

THE Flanders' galleys, which ſailed yearly from Venice, calling at England on their way, had a captain general, who was permitted to have an admiral under him; he, the ſaid captain, finding him his board. Whether the elder Cabot was one of theſe admirals, or ſailing maſters, is doubtful.

Paſqualigo ſays the Engliſh termed him the

great admiral on his return from his voyage, and then it muſt have been that he was knighted, if ever; but of this we have ſerious doubts, as there is nothing but the vague inſcription on the portrait to really warrant the ſuppoſition.

Was John Cabot an admiral or ſailing-maſter and pilot, and hence derived a title.

True there ſeems to have been a traditionary rumour to that effect, and it is quite poſſible that death may have followed ſo cloſely on the ſpurs of the knight as to leave no trace in hiſtory: for Sebaſtian tells us that about this time his father died, leaving him (Peter Martyr informs us) very rich, and full of ambition.

Ramuſio, "Venice," ed. 1543.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch a man would lightly abandon that which had been ſo hardly won. He was John Cabot's ſon; he had at leaſt a fourth ſhare in the patent, had been, if nothing more, a partner in all the previous diſcoveries; a large ſum had been inveſted by the family, which had brought, as yet, no adequate return; nothing but an empty title, or right to trade with the new found lands;—his intereſt, as well as his enthuſiaſm and his ambition, pointed clearly his

adventurous ſpirit the road to further exploration and colonization.

The probability is that the ſons continued to trade under the well-known name of their father, rather than change the title of the firm.

Ramuſio, firſt vol. ed. 1554.

For though it is probable that John Cabot was alive when the ſecond patent was granted, in February, 1498, it is morally certain that he was dead when the expedition ſailed under the command of Sebaſtian.

Much ſtreſs has been laid on the fact, that this ſecond patent is made out in the name of John Cabot only; and the omiſſion of the names of the three ſons is thought to be ſomewhat ſignificant. The caſe was altered now, ſay they; any ſeaman could find his way to the new found land; and the ſhrewd avarice of the penurious king would ſee how much more it was to his intereſt to employ proſpective adventurers, rather than thoſe whoſe charters would trench heavily on the Royal prerogative; none could, under the firſt charter, trade without a licenſe from the Cabots, and ſo this was made in favour of John, an

Biddle's "Memoirs of Cabot," p. 50.

aged, ailing, and, as it proved, a dying man: Sebaſtian, by acting under it, waived all perſonal claim under the firſt patent, which, in fact, became a dead letter.

This was entirely of a piece with Henry's general character, who heſitated not to take any advantage, when he had one in his power; witneſs his detention of Philip, king of Caſtile, who, driven by ſtreſs of weather into Portland Roads, was by him detained, on ſpecious pretences, until he had conſented to give his ſiſter to be Queen of England, and to yield up the White Roſe (as Henry's dreaded foe, the Duke of Suffolk, was called by the people) into his hands, to be by him cruelly beheaded.

"Venetian Calendar," Mar. 17, 1506.

A king ſo faithleſs to his peer would not be particular in altering a charter.

But we are not ſo ſure, after all, that the criticiſm is in this caſe a juſt one: after a careful ſtudy of its clauſes, we deem this *charter merely ſupplementary* to that of 1495, giving Cabot extra powers to preſs ſhips at the ſame rate of payment which the king gave for his own ſervice, and to enliſt men for the venture;

The ſecond charter only ſupplementary to that of 1495.

there is in it no bar to his trading or granting licenſes; no empowering other perſons to trade independently of the Cabot family, and no releaſe from the one fifth tribute which, under the firſt charter, they were to pay to the king out of their profits.

It gives no releaſe from the tribute.

Strange to ſay, the very exiſtence of this patent was unknown until Mr. Biddle, in 1831, by a moſt diligent ſearch in the Rolls' Office, diſcovered, and gave it to the public in his "Memoir of Sebaſtian Cabot," a work full of painſtaking reſearch, and to which we own ourſelves deeply indebted; though in many points we, with added information ſince his day, are conſtrained to differ from his concluſions.

Biddle's "Cabot," p. 76.

The charter runs thus:—

"Memorandum quod tertio die Februarii Anno Regni Regis Henrici Septimi XIII iſta Bella delibata fuit Domino Cancellario Angliae apud Weſtmonaſterium exequenda.

"To the Kinge.

"Pleaſe it your Highneſſe, of your moſt noble and haboundant grace, to graunte to

John Kabotto, Venecian your gracious Lettres patents, in due forme, to be made, accordyng to the tenor hereafter enſuying, and he ſhall continually pray to God for the preſervacion of your moſt Noble and Roiall aſtate, long to endure."

" HR Rex

" To all men to whom theis Preſenteis ſhall come ſend Gretyng; knowe ye that We of our Grace eſpeciall and for dyvers cauſes us movying We have given and graunten and by theis Preſentis geve and graunte to our wellbeloved John Kabotto Venecian ſufficiente Auctorite and power that he by him his Deputie or Deputies ſufficient may take at his pleaſure VI Engliſshe ſhippes in any Porte or Portes or other place within this our realme of England or obeiſance ſo that and if the ſaid ſhippes be of the burden of CC tonnes or under with their apparail requiſite and neceſſarie for the ſafe conduct of the ſaid ſhippes and them convey and lede to the *Londe and iſles of late founde by the ſaid John* in oure name and by oure commaundement, paying for theym and

Charter, 3d Feby., 1498.

Himſelf and deputies, i.e. his ſons.

every of theym as and if we ſhould in or for our owen cauſe pay and none otherwiſe.

To receive emigrants.

" And that the ſaid John by hym his Deputie or Deputies ſufficiente maye take and receyve into the ſaid ſhippes and every of them all ſuch maiſters maryners Pages and other ſubjects as of their owen freewille woll goo and paſſe with him, in the ſame ſhippes to the ſaid *Londe or Iſles* without anye impedymente lett or perturbance of anye of our officers or miniſtres or ſubjects whatſoever they be by theym to the ſeyd John his Deputie or Deputies and all other our ſaid ſubjects or anye of theym paſſinge with the ſeyd John in the ſeyd ſhippes to the ſeid Londe or Iſles to be doon or ſuffer to be doon or attempted.

To have the aid of the king's officers.

" Geveng in commandment to all and every our officers miniſters and ſubjects, ſeying or herying theis our Lettres Patents, withoute anye furthe commandment by us to theyme to be geven, to perfourme and ſocour the ſaide John his Deputie and all our ſeyd ſubjects ſo paſſynge with him according to the tenor of theis our Lettres Patentis.

" Any ſtatute acte or ordenance to the con-

trarye made or to be made in anywiſe notwithſtandynge.

" Feby. 3 1498."

Here then we have a ſcheme for colonization and trade, as well as for diſcovery.

All ſubjects who would of their own free will go were welcome.

Bounties were given to others; in the Privy Purſe expenſes is a record,— Bounty given to emigrants.

" Ap 1 1498. A reward of £2 to Jas Carter for going to the new Iſle, alſo to Thos Bradley, and Launcelot Thirkill, going to the New Iſle £30. March 22nd. Lancelot has received £20 as a preſt for his ſhippe, going to New Ilande." " Excerpta Hiſtorica."

The chronicler here calls it an iſland; but the king, who had ſeen the charts, and heard the tale of the diſcovery, and of the mighty rivers ruſhing into the ſea, in his charter calls it the " Londe and Iſles."

Perkin Warbeck's inſurrection had filled the jails, and the king did not know what to do with the priſoners; the Venetian Calendar " Venetian Calendar," p. 262.

Sanuto's "Diary," Oct. 11, 1497.

tells us, "That the king gave Cabot the ſweeping of the priſons, all but thoſe guilty of high treaſon;" theſe men could not have been intended as mariners, but were doubtleſs to be ſettlers to colonize the land.

Gomara corroborates this, who ſays,—"Sebaſtian Cabot went alſo to know what manner of lands theſe Indies were to inhabit.

R. Eden's "Decades," fol. 318.

"He had with him 300 men, and directed his courſe by the track of Iceland, upon the Cape of Labrador, at 58 degrees; although he (Cabot) ſays much further, affirming that in the month of July there was ſuch cold and heaps of ice that he durſt paſs no further; alſo that the days were very long, and in a manner without night, and the nights very clear."

"Certain it is, that at the 60 degrees the longeſt day is of eighteen hours."

"But conſidering the cold and the ſtrangeneſs of the unknown land, he turned his courſe from thence to the weſt, calling at the Baccalaos for refreſhment, following the coaſt to the thirty-eighth degree, from whence he returned to England."

That Cabot took the route of Iſland, i.e.

viâ Iceland, on this voyage, is indeed moſt probable; it lies in the direction in which, he tells us, he ſailed. A ſteady and advantageous commerce had been for years carried on between that iſland and Briſtol.

It is referred to in a quaint old poem called "The Policy of Keeping the Sea":— Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 201.

> "Of Iſland to write is little nede,
> Save of ſtockfiſh; yet forſooth indeed
> Out of Briſtowe, and coſtes many one,
> Men have practyſed by needle and by ſtone,
> Thitherwards, &c. &c."

We have already ſeen that Henry made a treaty for freedom of trade with the iſland, and the idea would ſeem to have been that Cabot, by thus breaking the voyage, would leſſen the dread of his timid crew. Campbell's "Lives of Admirals," vol. i. p. 325.

Purſuing his courſe thence to the weſt, he ſtruck the coaſt of Labrador (which is named on his map, "De la Tierra de los Baccalaos"), Gomara tells us, in latitude fifty-eight degrees, and here is his deſcription of the land: "Tellus ſterilis eſt neque ullos fructus affert." "The ſoil is abſolutely ſterile, and yieldeth no fruit." Alſo of the inhabitants, "That they wear beaſts' ſkins and the inteſtines of animals for From the inſcription on Cabot's map, cut by Clement Adams, ſee Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 6.

clothing, eſteeming them as highly as we do our precious garments; that their weapons are the bow and arrow, ſpears, darts, ſlings, and wooden clubs. That the country is crowded with ſtags of unuſual height and ſize; alſo with very large bears, which throw themſelves into the midſt of the ſhoals of fiſh, and, ſeizing their prey, drag them to land and devour them. On this account they meddle little with men."

Hakluyt, vol. iii.

He further ſays they found ſoles of an ell long, and ſuch abundance of a large fiſh called Baccalaos (cod-fiſh) that in ſome of the bays they actually impeded the ſailing of his ſhips; alſo ſeals and ſalmon, in great abundance and of vaſt ſize. Hawks, eagles, and other birds of plumage, akin to the colour of the raven, were found in great quantities.

Now, theſe things all point to Labrador as the ſpot viſited; the reindeer in herds, the white bear, or the Eſquimaux, ſeldom or never viſit Newfoundland, unleſs, perchance, carried thither on a drifting ice-floe.

The name given to the whole of the lands.

The name by which theſe regions were ſpoken of at home—by which they were deſcribed in the charter—was the New-found-

land. Men were not looking for a continent; they only expected to find iſlands; hence they were ſpoken of as ſuch, and by-and-by the name given to the whole ſettled down on a part, the largeſt iſland, which retains the appellation to this day; and it is received almoſt as an axiom by the many, that it was the veritable ſpot which was firſt diſcovered by the Briſtol navigator.

Settled down on one iſland.

Were poetical juſtice rendered to him, however, the whole of the northern continent ſhould be called Cabotia; for from the 68° N. latitude to the 30°, or from the northernmoſt part of Hudſon's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, he was the firſt European who ſurveyed its coaſts, or attempted to colonize its deſerted ſhores; whilſt the ſouthern continent, or at leaſt the weſtern Indies, ſhould bear the honoured name—Columbia.

Reverting now for this voyage to Cabot's ſtatement to Ramuſio's friend, we find him ſtating that he found "the land ſtill continent to the 56° under the pole; and finding no paſſage, and the land tending eaſtwards, I turned back agayne, and ſailed down by the

Ramuſio, 1554, ed.

Coaſts ſouthward to Florida.

coaſt of that land toward the equinoctial (ever with an intent to find the ſaid paſſage to India), and came to that part of this firm land, which is now called Florida, where, my victuals failing me, I departed thence, and returned into England."

This is evidently one of the miſtakes of the narrators as to the latitude reached. He went, on this third voyage, much further north.

R. Eden, "Decades," &c. &c. 1555.

Peter Martyr, his contemporary, ſays "he went ſo far north that it was, in a manner, continual daylight."

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 26.

Willes ſays, "Cabota was not only a ſkilful ſeaman, but a long traveller, and ſuch a one as entered perſonally that ſtrait (leading to Hudſon's Bay). Sent by King Henry VII. to make this aforeſaid diſcovery, as in his own diſcourſe of navigation, you may read in his chart, drawn with his own hand, that the mouth of the north-weſtern ſtrait lieth near the 318 meridian between 61° and 64° N. latitude, in the elevation containing the ſame breadth, about 10° weſt, where it openeth ſoutherly, more and more."

This ſoutherly bend a brave, old Briſtol

man, Captain James, explored in 1631, and made a wet dock for his ſhip of ninety tons by ſinking her when the ice ſet down on the coaſt, himſelf and his hardy crew wintering in ſnow-houſes, with tents of ſails inſide. The following ſpring they raiſed their ſhip, finiſhed ſurveying James's Bay, and reached home ſafely.

The ſtrange and dangerous voyages of Capt. James, 1633.

Longitude in thoſe early days was but very imperfectly underſtood, and was meaſured from Ferro eaſtward over the Old World, until it completed its circuit of 360 degrees.

Willes further ſays in his tract which was expreſsly written for the uſe of Sir Martin Frobiſher :—

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 25.

"Let the gulf be nearer to us than commonly in charts we find it, viz. between 61° and 64° N.L., as Gemma Friſius, in his maps and globes, imagineth it, and ſo left by *our countryman*, Sebaſtian Cabot, in his table, which the Earl of Bedford hath at Cheyniès."

Zeigler, in 1532, gives his reaſons why it muſt be a gulf into which Cabot entered, becauſe of the ice; and Eden ſays, "Cabot told me the ice was of freſh water."

"Argent," ed. 1532, fol. 92 *b.*

Thevet, the intimate friend of Cartier, the

"Singularitez de la France Antarctique." Paris, 1558. Chap. 74, fol. 148.

great French navigator of 1534, says, "It (i.e. Hudson's Bay) was discovered by Sebastian Babate, an *Englishman*, who persuaded Henry VII. King of England, that he could go easily this way by the north to Cathay, and that he would thus obtain spices and other articles from the Indies, equally as well as the King of Portugal; added to which, he proposed to establish there a New England, which he did not accomplish. True it is, he put 300 men on shore, from the coast of Iceland, towards the north, where the cold destroyed nearly the whole company."

Probable site of the first colony.

We gather, from the whole, that landing a party, probably about Davis' Inlet or Port Manvers, who were to colonize the country, he sailed on, north and by west, until he reached the above limit. A glance at the map will show that this must have been about the latitude of the Fury, and Hecla Straits, "where the land does trend east and by north, with an open passage;" that here the intense cold, combined with the fears of his crew, compelled him to abandon any further progress; for in this extreme north, he says, he found "monstrous

heaps of ice ſwimming on the ſea, and, in a manner, continual daylight," yet ſaw he, "the land in that region free from ice, which had been melted by the heat of the ſun;" and here alſo we learn from Richard Chancellor, he was placed in imminent danger from a waterſpout. Eden's "Gomara," fol. 318. Ibid. fol. 357.

Captain Parry, 350 years afterwards, deſcribes the ſame neighbourhood, and at the ſame time of the year (July), as "with very little ſnow upon the ground, and with numerous ſtreams of water ruſhing down the hills, and ſparkling in the beams of the morning ſun." Parry's "Voyages," p. 261.

Arctic terrors.

But there was little to cheer the men in a tranſitory gleam of ſunſhine; huge bergs towered over their heads, and ſwept about with erratic courſe, threatening to cruſh them; dark, beetling cliffs protruded their granite peaks above the melting ſnows, whilſt others ſtill ſlumbered, beneath their eternal, unſullied, fleecy coverlid. Huge whales, unſcared by their preſence, toſſed their unwieldly bulk high in the air, making the deep to churn and boil like a pot in their deſcent, or gambolled around, as though miſtaking them for comrades. Mon-

ſtrouſly large bears, Arctic wolves and foxes, the narwhal or horned whale, and the hideous looking walrus, would probably cauſe their terror to culminate.

The firſt knowledge of the abſence of darkneſs.

The brilliant coruſcations of the aurora would deter their advance, and perhaps give them the idea of a world on fire; whilſt the mere fact "that there was no night there," a thing never hitherto realized, would naturally exerciſe a myſterious influence, and create an undefineable dread in their minds.

It is really not wonderful that they turned and retreated. Coming back to the place where he had left the coloniſts, he found them diſheartened; perhaps, as Thevet ſays, dead, many of them: for even if the ſettlement was further ſouth, and perchance on the iſland of Newfoundland, a ſet of thriftleſs jail-birds would have hard times to ſettle down and make themſelves comfortable where nothing could be got but by dint of hard work, and where every Jack was as good as his maſter; away from all control or law. Re-embarking the remainder, he ſailed ſouth, paſt the ſhores of ſunny Virginia; but no graſſy ſlopes or

Thevet's "Singularitez de la France Antarctique," ch. lxxiv. p. 148.

Eden's "Decades," fol. 318.

verdant plains would tempt the wretched fellows again to land; ſafe on board, they would truſt the treacherous ſhore no more: and we may think it a ſpecial Providence that brought Cabot home from a cruiſe of over 2000 miles on the unknown American coaſt, with ſuch a crew, and a cargo, conſiſting mainly of convicts.

Remembering the cuſtom of hiring the mariners by the voyage, it is no wonder that we are told that they mutinied; and proviſions running ſhort when they reached Florida, conſtrained him to come home, baffled, but not conquered.

Peter Martyr.

Eden's "Decades," vol. iii. cap. vi.

In "Stow's Annals," 1498, under the mayoralty of Thomas Purchas, is the following ſtatement:

Stow's "Annals."

"This year one Sebaſtian Gaboto, a Genoa's ſon, born in Briſtow, profeſſing himſelf to be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world, and iſlands of the ſame, as by his charts and other reaſonable demonſtrations he ſhewed, cauſed the King to man and victuall a ſhip at Briſtow, to ſearch for an iſland which he knew to be repleniſhed with rich commodities. In the ſhip, divers merchants of London adven-

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 9.

tured ſmall ſtocks; and in the company of this ſhip ſailed alſo, out of Briſtow, three or four ſmall ſhips, fraught with ſleight and groſſe wares, as coarſe cloth caps, laces, points, and ſuch other . . . . of whom in this mayor's time, came no tidings." That is, they had not returned in October 1498.

Briſtol manufactures.

From all this, we gather that this voyage was made for colonization, trade, and diſcovery combined; that the King ſhared in the expenſe, probably fitting out one ſhip, as well as helping the men before named; that the coaſt, inhabitants, beaſts, fiſh and birds, as well as Cabot's own map, prove that the ſcene of their principal operations was the country now known as Labrador, but then called by Cabot, "The land of the Baccalaos;" and that Sebaſtian Cabot was the firſt man who diſcovered Hudſon's Bay, which he afterwards more thoroughly explored in the following reign, in the year 1517, when he ſpecially ſailed in the ſervice of Henry VIII. in ſearch through it of the North-Weſt Paſſage.

Concluſion arrived at that Cabot ſurveyed the American coaſt from Hudſon's Bay to Florida, and colonized it for ſome months.

CHAPTER VI.

Services declined by Henry; traditionary ſtatements of intermediate employment. Cabot invited into Spain; Interlude of the four elements; Cabot returns in diſguſt to England; Expedition of Henry VIII. in 1517 A. D., *reaches* $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ *N. L., further progreſs arreſted by cowardice of Admiral Pert. R. Thorn of Briſtol, his teſtimony; error of Dr. Robertſon.*

IN 1499, Cabot proffered his ſervices to Henry VII. for another voyage, but met "with no great or favourable reception from the king." "The fierce and ſtrong wave," ſays Hall, "which devoured the real, and alſo the pretended Earl of Warwick," was gathering and ſwelling all through that year, and the troubled monarch had home cares enough, without any foreign adventures.

Seyer's "Hiſtory of Briſtol."

Hall's "Chronicles," p. 488.

Seyer, the Briſtol hiſtorian, ſays that Cabot now, with no extraordinary preparation, ſet forth from Briſtol, and made great diſcoveries.

Seyer, vol. ii. p. 208.

Navarette, vol. iii. p. 41.

Hojeda, a Spaniſh navigator, who ſailed from Spain May 20, 1499, and was abſent one year, found certain Engliſhmen at Caquibaco; and in his account he mentions this, when giving a deſcription of the diſcoveries of the Engliſh under Henry VII.

Ibid. p. 86. "As that is the place where the Engliſh are known to be exploring."

Was this Cabot? The probability is great that it was, and that he would take up the thread of the voyage where he dropt it, at Florida, and ſo coaſt along to the ſouthward; this would ſpeedily bring him to the ſpot where Hojeda found the Engliſh.

An idea, founded partly on tradition and from certain payments from the privy purſe, has found ſome favour, viz., that he was engaged in colonizing Newfoundland, and the neighbourhood. In Nov. 17, 1503, we read: "To one that brought hawkes from the Newfounded iſland, £1."

Privy purſe expenſes, Hy. VII.

"8th April. To a Prieſt, that goeth to the new iſland, £2, &c. &c." But we rather incline to put theſe to the account of the Portugueſe and the Briſtol merchants, whoſe expedition failed in 1502; and who were doubtleſs the men who brought over the *Salvages*, who

Rymer, vol. xiii.

were exhibited before the king in that year. For if, as ſome think, Cabot brought them to England, the novelty would have worn off, and the king have ſeen them, before three years paſſed away.

Beſides, it was ever againſt Cabot's wiſh to lure or ſteal away from their homes the natives of the lands he viſited. It has been ſaid again, that now comes a moſt diſhonourable act on the part of the king. The Cabots had been to great expenſe, and their diſcoveries, though vaſt, had been hitherto unremunerative. Yet, declining Sebaſtian's ſervices in 1499, in 1501 the king granted to certain Portugales, in conjunction with Richard Warde, Thomas Aſhehurſt, and John Thomas, of Briſtol, a charter to trade to theſe lands, which has in it a clauſe, to the effect that they ſhall not be interfered with by any perſons to whom previous grants have been made; *but in the original roll the pen is drawn through this clauſe*, and the charter is limited to lands before unknown to all Chriſtians; ſo that the king's character is once more redeemed from diſhonour.

Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 42.

Biddle, p. 318.

Loſing ſight, for a while, of our great ſeaman, let us briefly glance at what his brother navigators have been meanwhile doing.

On Cabot's return from his continental diſcovery, in Auguſt, 1497, the news would be at once tranſmitted to Spain, by the ambaſſador, who was then in England, negotiating the marriage of Katharine of Arragon with Prince Arthur.

Don Pedro d'Ayola.

Columbus, ſtirred with honourable rivalry, urgently preſſed for another and immediate expedition; this ſailing in May, 1498, reſulted in the diſcovery of the continent of South America, by him, fourteen months after the landing of the chartered expedition, under Cabot, in June, 1497, or four years and two months after, Cabot's map ſays, the land was by them diſcovered.

Navarette, vol. iii. p. 77.

Eight years afterwards, on May 29th, the great Columbus died.

Hojeda, whom we have before mentioned, had with him in his employ, in the year 1499, a Florentine, named Americus Veſputius, on his firſt voyage, he having come to Spain to learn navigation, it is more than probable that

Lardner's "Maritime Diſcovery."

at Caquibaco, they met the veteran diſcoverer of the continent face to face. Veſputius, at the death of Columbus, became firſt pilot of Spain, and, though never apparently in command of an expedition, ſailed ſeveral times to the newly-found continent, which took its name from him, a mere hireling.

Thus, ſays the Abbé Raynal, "The moment America became known from the reſt of the world, it was diſtinguiſhed by an act of injuſtice."

Raynal's "Hiſtory of the Settlement of the Indies."

Veſputius died in 1512; and Ferdinand of Spain, dreading leſt the young King Harry VIII. ſhould pay no reſpect to the Pope's bull, which gave to him the Weſt Indies, was anxious to withdraw from Henry's ſervice, and to attach to his own, the greateſt navigator of the age, now that Columbus was dead.

Navarette, vol. iii. p. 305.

With this view, Ferdinand wrote to "Lord Uliby, Captain-General of the King of England, to ſend over Sebaſtian Cabot, he having heard of his ability as a ſeaman."

"Cronologico Para. la Hiſtoria." Madrid, 1723; and Herrera, Dec. 1. lib. ix. cap. xiii. "Uliby Spaniſh for Willoughby."

Lord Willoughby was at the head of a commiſſion for raiſing troops in 1511.

On the 13th of September, 1512, Cabot

went to Spain, when the king gave him the title of his captain; retained him in his ſervice at a liberal ſalary, directing him to live at the city of Seville, and there to await his orders.

"Decades," lib. ii. cap. xii.; and lib. iii. cap. vi.

Peter Martyr ſpeaks of him there as "his very friend, whom I uſe familiarly, and delight to have him ſometimes keep me company in mine own houſe; for being called out of England, by command of the Catholic King of Caſtile, after the death of King Henry VII., he was made *one of our council*, as touching the affair of the New Indies, looking daily for ſhips to be furniſhed for him, to diſcover this hid ſecret of nature, this voyage is appointed to be begun in March, in the year next following, being the year of Chriſt 1516." Unfortunately for Cabot, Ferdinand died on the 23rd of January, 1516; and the Spaniſh people, being more jealous of foreigners than their late king, the expedition was countermanded, and Cabot, feeling ſlighted, returned to England, and, under the bluff King Hal, found immediate employment.

The hid ſecret of nature was this: "Why the ſeas in theſe parts ran with ſo ſwift a current from the eaſt to the weſt." See p. 231.

It was probably about this time that the "Interlude of the four Elements," part of which we give, was written. Dr. Dibdin dates it A.D. 1510; we think it bears internal teſtimony of having been ſomewhat later, and that the Experyens herein depicted was none other than Sebaſtian Cabot himſelf; if not, who ſat for the portrait? The age was not as yet rich in great Engliſhmen; who were familiar with not only "certeyne poyntes of coſmography," but with pretty nearly the whole circle of natural ſcience; and who, in deſcribing the ſcenes of foreign travel, and the ignorance of the natives, could do ſo with the graphic ſimplicity of enlightened, kind-hearted eye-witneſſes, who felt that

By Raſtel, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More.

Hiſtory names no other Engliſhman in whom all this talent and travel meet but Cabot.

> "A greate meritorious dede
> It were to haue the people inſtructede."

An interlude of the four Elements.

"A new interlude and a mery of the nature of the iiij. elementes declarynge many proper poyntes of Phyloſophy naturall and of Dyvers Straunge Landys, and of Dyvers Straunge

Effectys and Cauſis; whiche, interlude yf the hole matter be played wyll conteyne the ſpace of an hour and a halfe but yf ye lyſt ye may leve out muche of the ſed mater, as the Meſſengers parte, and ſome of Natury's parte, and ſome of Experyens parte, and yet the matter will depend convenyently and then it wyll not be paſte *thre quarters of an hour of length.*"

Then follows the names of the players, and the qualities of the Elements; and then—

Figure of the earth,

"Of certayne concluſions provynge that the yerth muſt needs be rounde, and that it hangyth in the myddes of the fyrmament, and that it is in cyrcumference above xxj.m. myle.

and ſea.

"Of certeyne concluſions provynge that the ſee lyeth rounde uppon the yerth.

Strange and new found lands.

"Of certeyne poyntes of coſmography, as how and where the ſee coveryth the yerth, and of dyvers ſtrange regyons, and landys, and which wey they lye, and of the newe founde landys, and the manner of the people.

* * * * *

Tides.

"Of the cauſe of the ebbe and flode of the ſee.

" Of the cauſe of rayne, ſnowe, and hayle. Meteorology.
" Of the cauſe of wyndys and thondor.
" Of the cauſe of the lyghtnynge, of blaſyng ſterrys, and flamis fleynge in the ayre.

* * * *
* * * * —p. 16.

Studious Deſyre. Na, no dowte yt it is rownde everywhere,
Which I could prove, thou ſhoudeſt not ſay nay,
Yf I had therto any time and leſer;
But I knowe a man callyd Experyens, Experyens a practical navigator,
Of dyvers inſtrumentys is never without,
Cowde prove all theſe poyntys, and yet by his ſcyens,
Can tell how many myle the erthe is abowte,
And many other ſtraunge concluſions no dowte
His inſtrumentys coulde ſhew the ſo certayn,
That every rude carter ſhold them perſayve playn.
* * * * —p. 26.

Enter Experyens.

Stu. Now coſyn Experyens, as I may ſay,
Ye are right welcom to this contrey,
Without any fayning.
Exp. Syr, I thanke you therof hertely,
And I am as glad of your company,
As any man lyvynge.
Stu. Syr I underſtonde that ye have be who has ſeen many a ſtraunge countree.
In mauny a ſtraunge countree,
And have had grete felycyté
Straunge cauſes to ſeke and fynde.

Exp. Right farre Syr, I have ridden and gone
And ſeen ſtraunge thinges many a one
In Affryk, Europe, and Ynde;
Both eſt, and weſt, I have been farr
North alſo,—and ſeen the ſowth ſterr
Bothe by ſee and lande,
And ben in ſondry nacyons
With peple of dyvers condycyons
Marvelous to underſtonde.
Stu. Syr, yf a man have ſuch corage
Or devocyon in pylgrymage
Jheruzalem unto
For to accompt the nexte way,
How many myle is it I you pray
From hens theder to goo?
Exp. Syr, as for alle ſuche queſtyons
Of townes to know the ſytuacyon,
How ferr they be aſunder,
And other poyntes of coſmogryfy,
Ye ſhall never lerne them more ſurely
Than by that fygure yonder.
For who that fygure did fyrſt devyſe
It ſeemeth well he was wyſe
And perfect in this ſcyens;
For both the ſe and lande alſo
Lye trewe, and juſt as they ſholde do
I know by experyens.
Stu. Who thynk you brought here this fygure?
Exp. I wot not.
Stu. Certes, Lord Nature,
Hymſelfe not longe agone

In Indies, eaſt and weſt,

and can ſhow them on the globe.

Whiche was here perſonally,
Declarynge hye phyloſophy
And caſte thys fygure purpoſely
For Humanites inſtruccion.
Exp. Dowtleſſy, right nobly done.
Stu. Syr, this realme ye know, is callid Englande
Sometyme Brettayne, I underſtonde;
Therefor, I prey you, point with your hande
In what place it ſhulde lye.
Exp. Syr, this ys Ynglande lyenge here,
And that is Skotlande that joyneth hym nere
Compaſſyd aboute everywhere
With the Occian ſee rownde;
And next from them weſtwardly
Here by hymſelf alone doth lye
Irlande that holſome grounde.
Here than is the narrow ſee
To Calice and Boleyne the next wey
And Flaunders in this parte;
Here lyeth Fraunce next hym joynynge
And Spayne ſouthwarde from thens ſtandynge
And Portyngale in this quart.
This countrey is called Italye
Beholde where Rome in the myddes loth lye,
And Naples here beyonde;
And this lytell ſee that here is
Is callyd the Gulfe of Venys,
And here Venys dothe ſtande.
As for Almayne lyeth this way;
Here lyeth Denmark, and Norway;
And northwarde on thys ſyde

He deſcribes the countries of Europe.

Iceland and the Frozen Ocean;

There lyeth Iſelonde where men do fyſhe,
But beyonde that ſo colde it is
No man may there abyde.
This ſee is called the Great Occyan,
So great it is that never man
Coude tell it ſith the world began
Till now within this XX yere,

alſo the new lands found within this XX yere;

Weſtwarde be founde new landes
That we never harde tell of before this
By wrytynge nor other meanys:
Yet many nowe have bene there;
And that contrey is ſo large of roome,
Muche lenger then all Criſtendome,
Without fable or gyle;
For dyvers mariners had it tryed

and the coaſt ſide for five thouſand mile;

And ſayled ſtreyght by the coſte ſyde
Above V thouſande myle!
But what commodytes be wythyn
No man can tell nor well imagin,
But yet not long ago
Some men of this contrey went,
By the kynge's noble conſent,
It for to ſerche to that extent,
And coude not be brought therto;

alſo the reaſon for their return.

But they that were they venteres,
Have cauſe to curſe their maryners,
Fals of promys, and diſſemblers
That falſely them betrayed,
Which wold take no paine, to ſaile farther
Than their owne lyſt and pleaſure;
Wherefor that vyage, and dyvers other

Such kaytyffes have deſtroyed.
O what a thynge had be then
If that they that be Engliſhmen
Myght have been the furſt of all
That there ſhulde have take poſſeſſyon,
And made furſt buyldynge and habytacion,
A memory perpetuall!
And alſo what an honorable thynge,
Bothe to the realme, and to the Kynge,
To have had his domynyon extendynge
Thereunto ſo farre a grounde,
Which the noble Kynge of late memory,
The moſt wyſe Prince the VIJ. Henry
Cauſed furſt for to be founde,
And what a grete meritoryouſe dede
It were to have the people inſtructed
To lyve more vertuouſly;
And to lerne to knowe, of men the maner,
And alſo to knowe God theyr maker
Whyche as yet lyve all beſtly;
For they nother knowe God nor the devell,
Nor ever harde telle of hevyn nor hell,
Wrytynge nor other ſcrypture;
But yet in the ſtede of God Almyght,
The honour the ſone for hys grete lyggt,
For that doth them great pleaſure;
Buyldynge nor houſe they have none at all,
But wodes, cotes, and cavys ſmall
No merveyle though it be ſo
For they uſe no maner of yron
Nother in tole nor other wepon

His regret that colonization was thus fruſtrated.

Henry VII. died 1509.

Pious wiſhes.

That ſhould help them therto;
Copper they have which is founde
In dyvers places above the grounde,
Yet they dyg not therefor;
For as I ſeyd they have no yron,
Wherby they ſhuld in the yerth myne,
To ſerche for any wore:
Great haboundance of woddes therbe,
Pine foreſts. Moſt parte vyr, and pyne apple tree,
Great ryches myght come thereby
Both pyche, and tarre, and ſope aſhys
As they make in the Eeſt landes
By brynnynge thereof only.
Fiſh ſo plenti-ful killed with ſtaves. Fyſhe they have ſo great plenté,
That in havyns take and ſlayne they be
With ſtavys withouten fayle.
Now, Frenchemen and other have founde the trade
That yerely of fyſhe there they lade
Above a C ſayle.
But in the ſouth part of that contrey
The people there go naked alway
The lande is of ſo great hete!
And in the North parte all the clothes
That they were is but beſtes ſkynnes
They have no nother fete;
But how the people furſt begun
In that contrey or whens they came,
For Clerkes it is a queſtyon.
Other things more I have ne ſtore
That I coude tel thereof but now no more
Tyll another ſeaſon."

We are, for this next voyage of 1517, largely indebted to Cabot's perſonal friend, Richard Eden, from whom we learn, that "Henry VIII., in the eighth year of his reign, fitted out, furniſhed, and ſet forth certain ſhips, under the government of Sebaſtian Cabot, yet living (1553), and one Sir Thomas Pert, whoſe faint heart was the cauſe that voyage took none effect. If" (he continues), "I ſay, ſuch manly courage had not been wanting, it might happily have come to paſs, that that rich treaſurye, called Perularia, which is now in Spain, in the city of Seville, and ſo named, (for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the new found land of Peru), might long ſince have been in the Tower of London, to the King's great honour and the wealth of his realm."

Voyage of 1517. Richard Eden's "Munſter," London, ed. 1553.

Pert's cowardice.

All the evidence tends to ſhow that the great object of this voyage was to find an opening through Hudſon's Bay to the back of the Newfound land.

The object being to get to India through Hudſon's Bay.

That Chriſtian knight and brave navigator, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whoſe laſt recorded words, as, drifting by his conſort ſhip, he was

ſeen on the poop, ſitting with his book in his hand, were theſe: "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at ſea as on land," ſays "Cabot entered this ſame fret, affirming that he ſailed very far weſtward, with a quarter of the north, on the north ſide of Labrador, on the 11th of June, until he came to the ſeptentrional latitude of 67½°, and finding the ſea ſtill open, might, and would have gone to Cathay, if the mutiny of the maſter and mariners had not been."

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 16.

Lord Bacon relates, "He ſailed, as he affirmed on his return, and made a chart thereof, very far weſtward, with a quarter of the north, on the north ſide of Labrador, until he came to the latitude of 67½°, finding the ſea ſtill open."

Hiſtory of Henry VII.

Ortelius, who tells us he had Cabot's map before him, has drawn one entitled "America ſive novi orbis deſcriptio," in which he depicts the form of Hudſon's Bay, and a channel leading from its northern extremity towards the pole, preciſely as it is.

Ortelius, "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum."

How is it he was ſo correct? Whence did he get his information, but from Cabot? No

one elſe ever pretended to have been even ſo far as the opening of the fret or ſtrait, into the bay; and could Cabot have drawn it had he not been there?

Livio Sanuto, a noble Venetian, in his "Geografia," 1588, makes repeated alluſions to the map of "Chiariſſimo Sebaſtiano Caboto," with whom, through the medium of a friend, he correſponded, and therein gives a deſcription which minutely correſponds with Sir H. Gilbert's.

"Geografia," 1588. Britiſh Muſeum.

Robert Thorne, another princely Briſtol man, who died in London in 1532, leaving all his debtors forgiven, £4440 to charitable objects, and £5140 to poor relations (immenſe ſums in thoſe days), in a letter to the King, in 1527, (adviſing three routes to be taken to get to Cathay: one by the north-eaſt, afterwards taken by the unfortunate Willoughby; one directly over the pole; and one to the north-weſt,) refers to this voyage of Cabot's taken in that direction.

Stow ſays Robert Thorne was born in 1492.

Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 212.

"And if they will take their courſe after they be paſt the pole toward the weſt, they ſhall go on the back ſide of the New found

land, which of late was diſcovered by your Grace's ſubjects (Labrador, and the ſouth coaſts of Hudſon's Bay), until they come to the backſide of the Indies occidental."

Thus, by advancing regularly, by the route before taken in the north by His Grace's ſubjects, the weſtern ſide of the American continent would be attained; and further, in ſpeaking of another effort made under the auſpices of his own father and Hugh Elliott, both of them Briſtol merchants, who were the ſucceſſors of Warde and Thomas in the patent of 1501, Thorne, alluding to Cabot's voyage, ſays:—

Thorn and Elliott's voyage.

"Of the which there is no doubt, as now plainly appeareth, if the mariners would then have been ruled, and followed their pilot's mind (Cabot), the land of the Weſt Indies (*i.e.* Peru), from whence all the gold cometh, had been ours."

Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 219.

Well ſaid Robert Thorn, of Briſtol, the nineteenth century has proved your theory to be correct; and Sebaſtian Cabot was on the very verge of the diſcovery, having attained to the ſtraits which lead to the magnetic pole, and within a ſhort diſtance of the paſſage

Cabot gets cloſe to the Magnetic Pole and the North-Weſt Paſſage.

which McClure, Clintock, and Collinſon have in our time verified.

Cowardice is not an attribute of Britiſh admirals; true, we have had one ſhot, but it is more than queſtionable that he, the victim of political neceſſity, was a coward; yet amongſt the hoſt of brave old heroes, here is one with a veritable white feather.

Pert ſhows the white feather.

Sir Thomas Pert was a vice-admiral of England; Richard Eden, in the life-time of Cabot, and in the enjoyment of his friendſhip, makes this grave charge, and actually dedicates his book to the Lord High Admiral of England. Would he have dared to do this if the charge had been falſe? That it was openly known, and believed to be true, we ſee by Robert Thorne's alluſion to it eleven years afterwards, and alſo that of Sir H. Gilbert. We can find no excuſe. Sir Thomas muſt go down to poſterity as he has come to us, with the brand of coward on his brow.

Duke of Northumberland Lord High Admiral.

Dr. Robertſon, on what we deem moſt fallacious grounds, ſays that now Cabot came home by way of St. Domingo, threatening to attack the Spaniſh dominions there. We be-

Dr. Robertſon's authority is "Oviedo," book xix. cap. xiii. who

lieve that he was too honourable a man; his whole life preſents the picture of an honeſt, earneſt, forecaſting gentleman; who, though not faultleſs, would ſcorn to do ſo foul an action. Beſides, the very next year he was elected to "an high and honourable poſt in the Spaniſh kingdom," which effectually deſtroys this miſerable accuſation.

ſays an Engliſh rover, &c., &c., called at Hiſpaniola, &c., in MDXXVII. Dr. Robertſon has miſtaken this date for 1517, conſequently it could not be Cabot who was in the Rio de la Plata for Spain in 1527.

Though baffled by poltroonery, and compelled to return to England without accompliſhing his miſſion, Cabot did good ſervice to ſcience by this voyage; the variation of the compaſs, and the great dip of the needle, occupied his attention; the inhoſpitable ſhores of the vaſt bay, nearly to its terminal northern point, were mapped and ſurveyed, and plans for the accurate determination of the longitude alternated with the difficult work of navigating an unknown ſea in a high latitude, with a white-livered crew and a craven commander.

Cabot ſtudies the variation of the compaſs.

But theſe reſults were not ſatisfactory to the merchants who had adventured their moneys and commodities; and on Cabot's return, the King was full of continental anxieties, whilſt London and the whole country was being again

July to Decr. 1517.

ravaged by that awful peſtilence, the ſweating ſickneſs, which ſuſpended even the ordinary occupations of commerce, and Cabot, who could not be inactive, to whom "labour was reſt," beaten by circumſtances, but not diſheartened, finding no opening in England, turned his face to the South-Eaſt.

Cabot looks to a South-Eaſt paſſage.

CHAPTER VII.

The Emperor Charles V. appoints Cabot his Pilot-major in 1518 A.D. *Takes him with him from England, to fill the office in* 1520 A.D. *Cabot's interview with Contarini; his duplicity; controverſy between Spain and Portugal reſpecting the Moluccas; board of geographers; Cabot their preſident; deciſion given in favour of Spain. Expedition to explore the South-weſt; Cabot in command; mutiny; he ſeizes the ringleaders, puts them on ſhore, enters, and explores the Rio de la Plata; Garcia's falſe accuſation adopted by Southey; explanation; Cabot's juſtification by the Emperor.*

Charles V. ſucceeds to the throne of Spain.

CHARLES V., the talented, youthful monarch of Spain, who had juſt ſucceeded his grandfather, Ferdinand, now began to enquire what had become of the expedition of 1516, which had been planned to explore the Indies; where was the head that deſigned, and the hand which drew thoſe wondrous charts of the ſtrange lands acroſs the ocean?

We can eaſily underſtand how all this ori-

ginated. Cabot had a friend at court; Anghiera, better known as Peter Martyr, was as high in the confidence of Charles, who had juſt given him a rich abbey, as he had been in that of Ferdinand. He died in 1526, and muſt have been now buſy with his great work, "De rebus Oceanicis et orbe Novo Decades;" and what more natural than that he ſhould deſire to have at his elbow the man who, of all other living, was beſt qualified to give him practical information thereon.

Anghiera, or Peter Martyr.

Anghiera was the ſpring that moved the king; Cabot was ſought for; in 1518 he was named Pilot-major of Spain, though he did not enter upon the office until Charles viſited England, and took him back with him in 1520. One of the duties was to examine all pilots; none of whom could proceed to the Indies without examination and approval by him.

"Herrera," Dec. 3, lib. iii. cap. vii.

Dec. 2, lib. ix. cap. vii.

This office was too much of the character of a ſinecure for one of his active habits. That he was on the look out for employment, we find from his ſtatement to Cardinal Gaſpar Contarini, whom he tells, that he was again offered ſervice under Henry VIII. in 1519,

Unpubliſhed Diary of Venetian Embaſſy, 1617, by Rawdon Brown.

Cabot is offered employment by the Cardinal Wolſey.

by Cardinal Wolſey, "who told me he would give me high terms if I would ſail with an armada of his on a voyage of diſcovery; that the veſſels were almoſt ready, and they had got together 30,000 ducats for their outfit."

(This no doubt explains the delay in his acceptance of the office of Pilot-major, occurring, as it did, between his being nominated in 1518, and his actual entrance on its duties in 1520.)

"I anſwered Wolſey," he continues, "That, being in the ſervice of the King of Spain, I could not go without his leave; but, that if free permiſſion were conceded to me from hence, I would ſerve him."

Delay of Wolſey's expedition.

This expedition of Wolſey's did not ſtart till 1527; and on their arrival at St. John's, Newfoundland, they found fourteen ſail of Normans, Bretagnes, and Portugueſe there fiſhing. Somewhere on their voyage, their pilot and ſome of the ſailors venturing on ſhore, were ſeized, killed, roaſted, and eaten in the ſight of all on board.

Candour compels us to record here an incident in Cabot's life, which diſplays a degree

of duplicity which we believe in his latter days he would not have been guilty of. Cabot's duplicity.

He was leading an indolent life, on a handſome ſalary, but longing for active employment.

Charles V., in 1519, would certainly not conſent to his entering the ſervice of Henry of England, for Henry was at the field of the cloth of gold, aiding Francis of France in his rivalry with Charles for the empire of Germany. Spain jealous of England,

Such was the jealouſy felt, that though the liſts were ſet up, cloſe to the Spaniſh King's dominions, not a ſingle knight of Spain ſtirred to do honour to theſe pageantries.

From 1520 to 1525, Charles was buſy at war with France; and though he retained the man, he had neither time nor money to ſpare for expeditions of diſcovery. and at war with France.

Weary with waiting, Cabot ſeems to have turned towards Venice, his father's country, and all but his own.

The Queen of the Adriatic was on the moſt friendly terms with Spain, and might eaſily, if ſhe choſe, get from the Emperor the transfer

Cabot ſeeks active employ under Venice.

of his ſervices. In order to ingratiate himſelf with her ambaſſador, he ſtrove, therefore, to make himſelf out to be a Venetian, though bred in England: one who was worth a good wage; his preſent maſter was giving him ſo much for doing nothing; he wanted work, but he would not like to take leſs than he was now getting.

This ſeems to have been the ſpirit of the interview: a deſire for active and equally remunerative employment; and if the truth ſtood in his way, it muſt be ſacrificed in order to gain his end.

Well! "let him that is without fault caſt the firſt ſtone," ever remembering the age in which the event occurred. We give the converſation as Contarini relates it:—

Diaries and Deſpatches of Venetian Embaſſy, 1617-1618, unpubliſhed.

"My Lord Ambaſſador, to tell you the truth," (juſt what people ſay when they don't mean to tell it,) "I was born at Venice, but was bred in England, and then entered the ſervice of their Catholic Majeſties of Spain, and King Ferdinand made me Captain, with a ſalary of 50,000 maravedis. Subſequently, his preſent Majeſty gave me the grade of Pilot-

major, with an additional ſalary of 50,000 maravedis, and 25,000 maravedis beſides, as Adjutant of the Coaſt, forming a total of 125,000 maravedis, or equal to 300 ducats."

Then follows his narration of Wolſey's offer, after which he goes on to ſay:

Cabot's interview with Friar Colonna.

"At that period, in converſation one day with a certain friar, a Venetian, named Sebaſtian Colonna, with whom I was on a very friendly footing, he ſaid to me, 'Maſter Sebaſtian, you take ſuch great pains to benefit foreigners, and forget your native land: would it not be poſſible for Venice likewiſe to derive ſome advantage from you?'"

At this my heart ſmote me, and I told him I would think about it, and ſo on. On returning to him the next day, I ſaid that I had the means of rendering Venice a partaker of this navigation, whereby ſhe would obtain great profit. "Which is the truth, for I have diſcovered it."

Contarini compliments him upon his patriotiſm, but doubts the feaſibility of his ſcheme, and ſtarts difficulties. Cabot contends that his plan is practicable, and adds:—

He offers to come to Venice at his own charges.

"I will tell you—I would not accept the offer of the King of England, for the ſake of benefitting my country." (Alas! poor human nature; he didn't tell Wolſey ſo, but "I will, if the Emperor will let me"). "For if I had liſtened to the Engliſh propoſal, there would have been no more hope for Venice." He then adds: "The way and the means are eaſy. I will go to Venice at my own coſt; they ſhall hear me, and if they diſapprove of the project deviſed by me, I will return in like manner at mine own coſt." But he urges Contarini to keep the matter ſecret.

But when the Council of Ten ſend for him, he declines to leave Spain.

Further communications paſſed, and the Council of Ten cauſed a letter to be carefully conveyed to Cabot, exhorting him to come to Venice, where he would obtain everything. But meanwhile, other projects ariſe on the ſpot; active employment is urged on him, and the well-affected patriotiſm dies away, or like a garment, is thrown on one ſide.

Some one has ſaid of Cabot, "He was a great liar, as well as a great navigator." We deem this harſh and unfair. A ſolitary inſtance of departure from the truth ſhould not ſtamp a

man's character; nor was he far from being a Venetian, whoſe father was one, and who from four years old to manhood was taught and trained in that city. Still, it was not the truth; and whilſt a venial offence, it muſt ever ſtand as a flaw in his otherwiſe all but unblemiſhed character.

Cabot's father a Venetian by adoption.

Nor will the above canting converſation bear compariſon with his ſimple utterance to Richard Eden, the friend of his ripeſt years, the confidant of his voyages, and the ſoother of his dying hours.

To him he ſays: "I was borne in Bryſtowe, and at iiij. yeare olde, I was carried with my father to Venice." He had a golden inducement to lie to Contarini, and he fell under the temptation. He had no ſuch inducement in his friendly talk with Eden, and each word hence bears the ſimple ſtamp of truth.

His own ſtatement as to his birth at Briſtol. Eden, Dec. fol. 255.

Rawdon Browne, in a note to the preface to the "Venetian Calendar," vol. i. p. 78, tells us that Sebaſtian Cabot took out letters of naturalization at Venice, and that the patent is regiſtered in the book of privileges.

"Venetian Calendar," vol. i. p. 78, ſays Sebaſtian, by patent, became a Venetian.

This at once proves that he was not a na-

tive. But we rather ſuſpect that this is a part of the fatality which ſeems to attend the name, and that this is a miſtake, in placing the name Sebaſtian for John, for though the two dates 1472 and 1476 are named in the caſe of the father, there is no reference anywhere to the conferring the privilege on the ſon, ſave in this foot-note.

This an error of name.

That North-Weſt Paſſage was the child of Cabot's earlieſt hopes, and though baffled oft, he would, we are certain, be glad to try again. But the cry in Spain was, "To the South! to the South!" "They that ſeek riches," ſaid Peter Martyr, "muſt not go to the frozen North."

Spain ſeeks a ſouth-weſt paſſage.

Spain wanted to get by the ſouth-weſt to the Moluccas, which ſhe claimed. "Not ſo," ſaid Portugal; "they belong to us, for they are within the limit of longitude covered by the Pope's Bull, which grants all that region to us."

Conference at Badajoz.

A conference of geographers was therefore ſummoned, of which Cabot was the preſident, and young Columbus had alſo a ſeat at the board.

They met at Badajoz in April 1524, and on the 31ſt of May it was decided that the co-

veted Spice Iſlands were by twenty degrees within the Spaniſh waters.

Portugal retired in diſguſt, and prepared a fleet to enforce its claims, and to deſtroy commerce in thoſe regions.

Portugal ſullen.

Spain, on the contrary, exultant at the deciſion, and eager for the riches of the Eaſt, formed a company, under the higheſt ſanction, and Cabot was ſolicited to take the command; ſo he gave up Venice.

Spain exultant.

Our merchant prince, Robert Thorne, of Briſtol, then a reſident at Seville, entered into the adventure, principally that two Engliſh friends of his who were ſomewhat learned in coſmography might go in the ſhip, to bring him certain relation of the country, and to acquire expertneſs in the ſcience of navigation. Good Robert deſerved to be rich, for he knew the right way to uſe his wealth. One of theſe friends was George Barlow, of whom more anon.

R. Thorne, of Briſtol, joins the Spaniards in the new adventure.

In September, 1524, Cabot received permiſſion from the Council of the Indies to engage in the enterpriſe, and gave bond to the company for the faithful execution of his truſt.

Cabot receives permiſſion to take the command.

Charles lends them ſhips.

The Emperor, on March 4th, 1525, agreed to let them have a ſquadron of three veſſels of not leſs than 100 tons, and 150 men.

A ſmall caravel was added by a private individual (was it Thorne ?), and the title of Captain-General was conferred on Cabot.

His ſhare in the anticipated profit.

The Emperor was to receive 4000 ducats and a ſhare of the profits, whilſt the whole inveſtment of the company only amounted to 10,000 ducats.

Route through Straits of Magellan.

The intention was to ſail through the Straits of Magellan, and then thoroughly to explore the weſtern ſhores of the continent.

Auguſt 1525, was the date finally ſettled on for ſailing ; but by ſundry intrigues, Portugal managed to detain the expedition until April 1526.

Sail in April 1526.

Not content with foſtering diſcontent on board the ſhips ere they ſailed, that jealous power continued her machinations at home and alſo in Spain. She ſent out a ſquadron, under Garcia, whoſe object was to excite mutiny, to act in concert with the diſaffected, and in every way to hinder the progreſs of an expedition commanded by a man who had,

Portugal ſends a ſpying expedition.

they ſaid, robbed them of the ſpice-bearing Moluccas.

In April then Cabot ſailed for the Brazils, by the Canaries, Cape de Verde, and Cape Auguſtine; though even in this he has been miſrepreſented by thoſe who wiſhed to detract from his fame as a navigator.

Cabot's route to Brazil.

Petty jealouſy of the great foreigner from the firſt marred the ſucceſs of the adventure. The company appointed agents, or deputies, who were named by the freighters: theſe controlled Cabot in every particular, and were conſtantly at croſs purpoſes with him.

He is croſſed by the ſupercargos.

He wiſhed to place a man on whom he could rely (De Rufis) as ſecond in command. The agents inſiſted on putting Mendez in, as Lieutenant-General, whoſe ſole recommendation ſeems to have been that he had ſailed as purſer with Magellan.

Has an inefficient ſub-commander.

We may conceive the irkſome poſition of our countryman, compelled to receive, as his right hand, a man whom he diſtruſted, and in reference to whom he had to inſiſt, that, during any unavoidable abſence of his, Mendez ſhould take no ſtep whatever except he had

orders from himſelf; barring which, he was not to act at all.

He was thus obliged to render his Lieutenant helpleſs, in order to reſtrain him from miſchief.

Sealed orders given to each ſhip,

Beſides all this, as a crowning folly, ſealed orders were given to each ſhip, to be opened at ſea.

Theſe contained the abſurd proviſion, that in caſe of the Captain's death, eleven others ſhould ſucceed to the command in the rotation in which their names were placed.

If theſe all died, then the ſurvivors were to caſt lots for the Captaincy, &c., &c.

which tend to create diſaffection.

The reſult of this was immediately ſeen; it really offered a complete premium for murder, and makes Cabot's ſafety almoſt a ſpecial act of Divine Providence.

Diſaffection rife, and ſown by the red gold of the Portugueſe ere they ſailed, now broke out to view; thoſe higheſt in rank, and neareſt the prize coveted, were the very worſt.

Captain Caro faithful.

Out of the whole lot of haughty Dons, the eleventh man, Captain Gregario Caro, Abdiel like, "among the faithleſs faithful only found,"

was the only one who retained his integrity. The others fancied that they were, each man alone, fit for command; and ſeemed to think that the baton was within their reach.

Report of ſhortneſs of proviſions.

Scarcely were they out of ſight of land when a report was ſtudiouſly bruited abroad that they were ſhort of proviſions; before they reached the coaſt of Brazil, Mendez was cruſty and inſolent, De Rojas muttered and ſcowled, with fierce beetling brows, and De Rodas ſneered that the Captain was too gentle and mild for ſo arduous a taſk.

Culminates in a mutiny.

As they neared the land, the ſtorm mutterings grew louder; and, ſtrutting up and down with their hands on their ſwords, they threatened open violence.

But they completely miſtook their man. The naval heroes of Britain have ever been men, who, gentle as a woman in the calm, could riſe equal to any emergency, and ever preſent an unquailing front to the ſtorm.

Cabot equal to the emergency.

Cabot was no longer a mere pilot to a craven, recreant Pert, but an Engliſhman, with a heavy reſponſibility reſting on him, and high in the confidence of his auguſt employer.

He felt that a bold and daring exerciſe of rightful authority was now his only chance; and though, as far as we know, he had only two of his own countrymen to back him, amidſt a herd of jealous Spaniards, with dauntleſs reſolution he ſeized Captain de Rojas, and with an audacious boldneſs that paralyzed the mutineers, took him out of his own ſhip and from their very midſt, put him, Mendez, and De Rodas, into a boat, and landed them on a ſpot where they were compelled to remain until the Portugueſe expedition, under Garcia (which ſailed in Auguſt, four months after Cabot), picked them up, and ſent them home in a ſlave ſhip.

Seizes the mutineers, and lands them.

The haughty grandees, full of anger at their humiliation, bitterly reſented this treatment in a memorial to the Emperor.

Eventually, Cabot ſent home George Barlow and another, whoſe repreſentations ſo ſatisfied Charles as to the abſolute neceſſity of the harſh ſtep which had been taken, that he promiſed Cabot the needful ſuccours, and alſo ſent him permiſſion to colonize the country.

Takes meaſures to let the Emperor know, and receives his approval of his action.

A concluſive proof of the wiſdom of the

courſe adopted is ſeen in this, that, during the five years that the expedition remained out, years full of toil, ſuffering, and great privation, there was no more murmuring, but ever devoted fidelity and unity of action.

Southey's adoption from Garcia of the calumnies againſt Cabot.

Yet even our own Southey, in his "Hiſtory of the Brazils," has echoed the calumnies of Garcia to the diſparagement of Cabot, whom he accuſes of requiting the goodwill of the natives, with the uſual villainy of an old explorer, by carrying away four of them; and he alſo denounces as an act of cruelty the ſtep by which he quelled the mutiny, and, without bloodſhed, ſaved the lives of probably many others beſides his own.

The object of the accuſer.

Let us briefly examine theſe accuſations; and, firſt, who is the accuſer: Diego Garcia, a Portugueſe, who ſailed four months after Cabot, whoſe object was to injure and prevent the ſucceſs of Cabot's expedition; he had a ſhip of 100 tons, a pinnace, one brigantine, and the frame of another, ready to be put together at need.

Garcia's voyage.

Touching at the Bay of St. Vincent, Garcia found a Portugueſe, of the degree of a Bache-

lor, whoſe ſon-in-law accompanied him to the La Plata.

Garcia diſpoſes of his largeſt ſhip to be uſed as a ſlaver,

Finding, on reaching that river, a garriſon of Cabot's, and learning that he, with his ſhips, had gone up the ſtream, he followed with his brigantine; he had previouſly hired to his hoſt at St. Vincent the ſhip of 100 tons to carry ſlaves, and between them they ſhipped and ſent home 800 natives.

This he did on the abſurd pretence of its being too large for exploring purpoſes.

for his own profit.

Yet this man, a ſharer in the nefarious trade to ſuch an extent, convicted of defrauding his employers, and, by his covetouſneſs, nullifying the object of his own expedition, is the only accuſer of Cabot, who, he ſays, took from an iſland in the river four ſons of chiefs.

Before we take the word of a tainted witneſs, ſuch as this man, let us look at the reported facts.

The place and the aſſerted time of the abduction of natives by Cabot.

It was at the iſland of St. Catharine's, on the coaſt of Brazil, on his outward voyage, when, if taken, theſe men would be for years of not the ſlighteſt uſe, but only ſo many more mouths to fill. It was not from an iſland in the

river, ſo that it could not be in order to uſe them as pilots.

Was nearly 500 miles north of the Rio de la Plata.

Neither, as yet, had Cabot determined to go into the river at all; his doing ſo was only the reſult of the mutiny. If the expedition had been on its return the men would have been worth ſomething, perchance, in Spain. But Cabot was a prominent member of the Council of the Indies, in Spain, was familiar with, and had been inſtrumental in framing their orders, which were peremptory as to offering violence to the Indians.

Cabot's own law againſt violence to the Indians.

When Gomez returned from his voyage, having abducted and brought home ſome of the natives, Cabot was at Seville, and knew well the cry of indignation that rang through the land.

Gomez's voyage, 1524.

In after life, in his own inſtructions to Willoughby, he enjoins every effort, by gentleneſs, to get a thorough knowledge of the natives, and he expreſsly forbids the uſe of violence or force.

Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 228.

Beſides, Garcia called at the iſland, a ſtrange European, when the wound, if there was one, was raw, and admits that he was graciouſly re-

ceived! Is it credible? Would they not rather have confounded him with the others, who had committed the outrage and wreaked their vengeance on him?

Theory that these ſons of chiefs were hoſtages for the mutineers.

There is only one plauſible theory, one which we have never yet ſeen broached, and yet it forcibly croſſes our minds in looking at this ſubject. If he did take theſe chiefs' ſons, was it as hoſtages for the good treatment of the mutineers, whom he landed ſomewhere about here, very probably on this iſland, intending to pick them up on his return voyage?

If ſo, Garcia's reception proves that the exchange was a voluntary one, and the charge of treachery diſappears; and he who took ſuch meaſures to preſerve the lives of the men who endeavoured to ſubvert all authority can ſurely not be called cruel.

The ejection from the fleet of the mutineers was the mildeſt as well as the ſafeſt thing that could be done, and, we ſee, was executed with as much mildneſs as was conſiſtent with a ſenſe of duty.

It is a remarkable fact, that if there is one perſonal trait in Sebaſtian Cabot's life more

prominent than another, it is his gentleneſs. All who enjoyed perſonal intercourſe, or were brought into cloſe connection with him, ſeem to have loved him; and ever and anon they break out into expreſſions of affectionate attachment.

Cabot's gentleneſs.

To a phyſiognomiſt his portrait will at once exonerate him from ſuch a charge; there is no cruelty written on that brow, or gleaming from thoſe mild eyes.

His portrait.

We diſmiſs theſe calumnies, therefore, with one remark.

On Cabot's return to Spain the Emperor, who had meanwhile ſuperſeded the company, and taken all the expenſes on himſelf, reinſtated him at once in his high and honourable office; and when, afterwards, Cabot went to England, made inceſſant and moſt importunate interceſſions, through his ambaſſador, to get him to return and ſettle in Spain. This completes, we think, his vindication.

He returns to Spain, and is reinſtated in office.

CHAPTER VIII.

Continues his reſearches on the La Plata; builds forts; aſcends the Paraguay; conquers the attacking Guarani Indians; Garcia's arrival; its conſequences; Cabot wins the love of the natives; cultivates the ſoil; ſtudies the natural hiſtory of the country; makes laws; adminiſters juſtice; conſolidates his power. Treachery of Garcia's men; natives carry Fort San Spiritus and deſtroy them and that portion of Cabot's men who were there. Endeavour of the Indians to ſurpriſe Cabot; he beats them off. Embarks for Spain; reſumes his high poſt and its emoluments for eighteen years. Returns to his native place, Briſtol, and ſettles there; probable reaſons why. Spaniſh Ambaſſador demands his return of King Edward and his council; Cabot's interview and reply. Spain ſtrikes off his penſion; King Edward grants him one.

THOUGH Cabot, by his firmneſs, had diſſipated the mutiny, he did not feel himſelf juſtified in proſecuting the long and perilous voyage originally contemplated without conſulting his auguſt employer; he therefore put into the

Cabot puts into the Rio de la Plata.

Rio de la Plata, and from thence ſent home Hernando Calderon and George Barlow with a ſtatement of all that had occurred.

Sends home Barlow and Calderon, to counteract the ſtatements of the mutineers.

The expelled commanders were men of high rank, and great influence at home.

Miguel de Rodas had been with Magellan in his ſhip the "Victory," which circumnavigated the globe. The Emperor had given him a penſion for life and a device for his coat-of-arms, commemorative of that achievement.

Martin Mendez had been in the ſame ſhip, and the device prepared for him was of a yet more flattering deſcription.

Probably their accidental aſſociation with ſo great an enterpriſe had given them a reputation far beyond their deſert; at all events, they were men whom Cabot could not afford to deſpiſe.

Meanwhile our intrepid navigator had loſt no time. His immediate predeceſſor as Pilot-major, De Solis, had diſcovered this vaſt river, whoſe mouth is an inlet of 150 miles in width, and on an iſland in it had loſt his life.

The Plata previouſly diſcovered by De Solis. Gomara, cap. 89.

Cabot puſhed his way up to this ſpot, and

finding a vaſt body of water ſtill deſcending, and precious metals more abundant among the natives the higher he went, he, hoping to be able to ſend home a favourable report, proſecuted his reſearches before he ſent home his meſſengers.

"Decades," iii. Herrera, lib. ix. cap. iii.

One of his three ſhips had been loſt on the voyage, and the men, who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming, were now diſtributed between the two ſhips and the caravel.

Puſhing his way then boldly up this broad but ſhallow inlet, whoſe intricate navigation and violent pamperos make it to this hour the dread of the navigator, he reached an iſland, which ſtill bears the name he gave to it, St. Gabriel.

R. Eden's "Decades," fol. 316.

The low ſhelving ſhores on either hand gave ſuch ſhallow water that he cared not to take his ſhips near the mainland.

Near St. Gabriel was another iſland, where poor De Solis lay buried. He had reached thus far when, in an unfortunate diſpute with the natives, he was ſet upon, killed, together with fifty of his men, and eaten; though how they managed to eat him and alſo to bury him

"Iſle of Martin Garcia," the ſcene of the death of De Solis. Gomara, cap. lxxxix.

is a problem which our informant, Herrera, has left unſolved.

Here the natives aſſembled in numbers, and made a great ſhow of reſiſtance, but Eden ſays, "Cabot, without reſpect of peril, thought beſt to expugne it by one means or other, wherein his boldneſs tooke goode effecte, as often tymes chaunceth in grate affayres."

R. Eden's "Decades," fol. 316.

At St. Gabriel he left his ſhips, and in his boats explored ſeven leagues up the ſtream, until he reached another river, to a port cloſe to the mouth of which he gave the name of St. Salvador; and, as it offered a good harbour, he returned and brought thither his ſhips, having, however, to lighten them ere he could get them in.

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 729.

This would ſeem to have been on the Rio Naranjos, or the lower branch of the mouth of the Parana, near its confluence with the Uruguay.

Herrera, Dec. iv. lib. viii. cap. ix.

Here, in an iſland about two leagues from the ſpot where De Solis periſhed, he erected a fort, which was ſtanding in 1586.

Though the Uruguay was a very large river, he avoided it, for the ſame reaſon that

Avoids the River Uruguay,

his object being to get weſtwards.

led him afterwards to paſs the mouth of the noble Parana—he ſaw theſe both led from the North, and his great object was to get, not into Brazil, but to the Weſt, becauſe he found that it was from thence the ſilver came of which the natives were poſſeſſed.

Two of his men killed.

During the building of this fort the firſt blood was ſhed. The natives killed and carried off two of the Spaniards, but, in fierce deriſion, ſaid they would not eat them, becauſe they were ſoldiers, of whoſe fleſh they had already had a ſurfeit in De Solis and his followers.

Antonio de Grajeda left in command of the fort.

In this port Cabot left his ſhips and a garriſon under the command of Antonio de Grajeda, having firſt cut down the caravel for the convenience of river navigation; and with her and the boats he now proceeded up the Parana.

Builds another fort at Terceiro.

On arriving at the junction of the Carcarama, or Terceiro, he built near it a fort, finding, as he ſaid, that the natives were intelligent.

Gives the command of it to Gregorio Caro.

This he garriſoned with a party under the command of the faithful Gregorio Caro, the captain of the Maria del Eſpinar.

His prudence.

Having thus carefully ſecured a baſe in caſe of having to retreat, he, with his greatly-weakened troop, puſhed boldly, but carefully, up the river.

Leaves the larger river and ſtill puſhes weſtwards.

Reaching the Parana's junction with the Paraguay, though in reality the largeſt of the two ſtreams, he left it on the right hand, becauſe the direction whence it flowed was not the route he was anxious to take, and for thirty-four leagues farther urged his way up the Paraguay.

Rich. Eden's "Decades," fol. 255.

Deſcribing this voyage in the converſation with Ramuſio's friend, he ſays, "I found an exceedingly large and great river, named at this preſent time the Rio de la Plata—that is, the river of ſilver—into which I ſailed, and followed it into the firme land more than 120 leagues, finding it everywhere very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which, with admiration, came running daily to our ſhips. Into this river run ſo many other rivers that it is in manner incredible."

Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 415.

The region which our traveller had now reached preſented an entirely new aſpect, being everywhere cultivated; and the feeling which

The natives a ſuperior claſs, who cultivate the ſoil.

naturally ſprings from excluſive poſſeſſion of the ſoil led the natives to look with great jealouſy on the intruders, which ripened eventually into the fierceſt and moſt deadly animoſity.

Spaniards ſeized.

Three of the Spaniards, having ſtrayed to gather the fruit of the palm-tree, were ſeized by the natives.

Great battle; Cabot victorious, but with heavy loſs. Herrera, Dec. iv. lib. i. cap. i.

Cabot ruſhed to the reſcue, and a moſt ſanguinary battle enſued; three hundred of the natives fell, but his ſmall party loſt twenty-five of their number—a moſt ſerious loſs, which ſo reduced their ſtrength as to make further progreſs impracticable.

He appriſes Caro by letter.

Like a wiſe commander, he at once ſent down his wounded, and appriſed the garriſon below of his loſs and their danger.

Garcia arrives in the river. Herrera, Dec. iv. lib. i. cap. i.

Juſt then Garcia had arrived at St. Salvador, and Grajeda, who was in command, thinking that it was the mutineers, manned his boats and proceeded in force againſt him. Garcia made himſelf known, and the two parties entered the port amicably.

From hence Garcia ſent his ſhip to fulfil the contract he had made for carrying the

ſlaves, who were natives ſtolen from the Brazil coaſt.

With ſixty men in his two brigantines he aſcended the river to fort Santus Spiritus; here he ſummoned Caro to give him immediate poſſeſſion in the name of the Emperor, contending that he had orders which gave him the rights of diſcovery, though he was ſix months later on the ground than Cabot. Garcia's ſummons to Caro.

Caro told him that he held the fort in the name of the Emperor and Sebaſtian Cabot, but was quite willing to give him a welcome, and all the aid he needed, though he would never ſurrender it. Caro's noble anſwer;

However, he begged Garcia, as a perſonal favour, to look out for wounded Spaniards, or any who were priſoners, and ſaid that he himſelf would repay him if he found any on his aſcent of the river, for, though Cabot had defeated the Indians, there might, he thought it poſſible, be ſome of their people in their hands. and his offer of perſonal indemnity for loſs.

But Garcia, inſtead of at once proceeding to the relief of his fellow Europeans on reaching the Parana, ſailed up it for ſome diſtance; nor do we hear of him at Santa Ana Garcia's heartleſs conduct.

until Cabot had come to a good underſtanding with the natives, and all was proſperity and peace.

Cabot and Garcia meet.

Of the interview between the two commanders we know nothing but the reſult.

It was not conſiſtent with Cabot's known character, and his high ſtanding in Spain, to ſtruggle for lawleſs or even for doubtful power.

Cabot's characteriſtic deciſion.

His commiſſion did not directly cover his preſent operations, though it might do ſo indirectly; ſo he deſcended the river with Garcia to Salvador, and thence ſent home Barlow and Calderon, as we have ſhown, with a comprehenſive ſtatement of all the incidents which had occurred ſince he left Seville, and the circumſtances which had led him to alter his courſe.

Charles the Fifth's deciſion.

The Emperor heard Barlow and Calderon as well as the mutineers, whom he cauſed to be ſent for, and evidently arrived at the concluſion, that the latter were rightly ſerved; for he ſent word to Cabot that he was to colonize the country, and promiſed ſpeedily to furniſh him with the neceſſary means.

Cabot, with his expectations raiſed to the

higheſt pitch, was moſt eager to carry on the enterpriſe.

He had reached the waters, which, riſing in Potoſi, fall into the Paraguay, and had diſcovered the ſource from which the natives obtained the precious metal which was freely in uſe amongſt them.

Cabot's furtheſt inland point within ſight of the mountains of Peru.

The obſtacles between Fort Ana and Peru were trifling; he was all but within reach of the Golden Empire which Pizarro a few years later, by another route, ſeized on. He had already beaten, and then negotiated a peace, with the fierce Guaranis, who had invaded Peru; and, by friendly intercourſe, had attached them to himſelf, learned many ſecrets of that country, and procured from them much gold and ſilver, which they had brought from thence.

Had beaten the Indians, who had conquered Peru, with an abſurdly ſmall force, but was to be diſappointed.

Surely if, with a mere handful of men, he had beaten and conquered the fierce people who had overrun and deſpoiled ſo rich a region, with a few more ſoldiers, he might enter and take poſſeſſion of New Caſtile, the Golden.

But, Tantalus-like, the cup was again to be daſhed from his mouth.

The Emperor poor.

Charles V. had outrun his exchequer, and was afflicted with a diſeaſe very prevalent, in modern days, impecunioſity. His cortes refuſed him money. He had mortgaged the Moluccas to Portugal, and his treaſury was empty.

Pizarro importunate and ſpecious,

Juſt then Pizarro, overflowing with ambition, well known at court, perſonally importunate, but aſking for no money, only for the government of the countries which he might conquer, aſſailed the Emperor continually.

and Cabot is neglected.

Cabot was ſhelved, Pizarro ſucceeded; of his ſucceſsful but infamous career we need ſay no more than this, that if Cabot had achieved the conqueſt of Peru the blackeſt page in the hiſtory of Spaniſh America would never have been written.

Waiting, he works, raiſes crops, experiments on the ſoil.

Whilſt waiting, ſick at heart, with hope deferred, Cabot erected forts, adminiſtered juſtice, and reduced all the ſurrounding nations to obedience to the Emperor. Ever active, when no ſupplies came from Spain, he ſet the whole party to work, rapidly raiſed ſufficient food, made experiments on the fertility of the ſoil, carefully noting the

reſults, which, with great minuteneſs, he afterwards reported to the Emperor.

Chronicles reſults.

He claſſified alſo the various productions of the country, and graphically deſcribes the marvellous fecundity of the ſwine, and alſo of the horſes, both of which they had imported from Spain; theſe latter became the parent ſtock whence ſprung the vaſt wild hordes which ſcour the Pampas to this day.

Claſſifies productions, and points out the favourable ſituations for rearing and breeding cattle.

A clever wit of the laſt generation ſaid of a certain nobleman, that he was ready to take the helm of the ſtate, or the command of the channel fleet, at an hour's notice. It was witty, but not new; for here we actually have the greateſt commander and navigator of his age, organizing a nation from the moſt diſcordant elements, and developing its powers under manifeſt diſadvantages.

Is at once a navigator, commander, and wiſe ſtateſman.

We are naturally proud of the Briſtol mariner, whoſe perſonal agency gave to England and her ſturdy offspring their vaſt poſſeſſions in the north, and to Spain the rich and well watered regions in the ſouth, of the American continent; and if any one ſhould be at all curious to ſee his monument in his

Briſtol proud of the man that gave to England and to America and Spain their vaſt poſſeſſions.

But rears him no monument.

native city, let them know that it lies with Sir Thomas Lawrence's, in the vaſt limbo of futurity.

Is five years in the Plata.

In the midſt of his labours, and, remember, they extended over five years in this region, the ſame evil genius which had followed him acroſs the Atlantic was conſtantly marring his efforts, and finally ſtruck a well-nigh fatal blow to the expedition.

Garcia leaves ſome of his ſpies behind,

Garcia had ſwept the country and ſailed with his ſpoil; but he had left behind him a party of his followers, who held themſelves amenable to no law.

who anger the natives.

Theſe men, located at Santus Spiritus, were guilty of ſome acts of atrocity towards the natives, which rouſed their wildeſt reſentment.

It is expreſsly ſtated that with this act, whatever it was, Cabot had nothing at all to do; but the fierce and ſanguinary Indians made no diſtinction.

Theſe decide on exterminating the whites.

Secret meetings were held, a plan of action was decided upon, and it was determined to cut off every white man in the country.

A little before daybreak the enraged nation burſt, with one fell ſwoop, down on and car-

ried the entrenchments of Santus Spiritus, putting the feeble garriſon to the ſword.

They attack Santus Spiritus, ſlay Caro and his garriſon.

Here Caro, the faithful, probably periſhed in command, for we henceforth loſe ſight of him.

Maddened with ſucceſs, they rapidly traverſe the intervening country, and try the ſame tactics at Fort Salvador.

Swoop down on Fort Salvador.

But better watch and ward is kept here. "Defence, not Defiance," is the Briſtol man's motto, or rather, as on his portrait, "Spes mea in Deo eſt;" but he watches, as well as hopes; fights, as well as prays; and beats the enemy off.

Cabot on the watch, beats them off;

Sad faces come down the river a few days afterwards, re-inforcements, ſent to alarm and put the advance garriſon on their guard, return diſpirited: they had found Santus Spiritus deſolate, a ruin; and their friends and companions ſlain to a man. So Cabot ſhips the requiſite ſupplies, diſmantles the fort, embarks the remnant of his people, and quits for ever the ill-omened ſhore.

and for want of re-inforcements returns to Spain.

Herrera, Dec. iv. lib. viii. cap. ix.

Five and thirty years, replete with toil, anxiety, and peril, have paſſed away ſince the

Cabot resumes office in Spain, A.D. 1531.

date of the first patent of Henry VII.; and though Cabot, on his return to Spain, resumes his high station, and might bask at leisure in the emoluments of office, yet we find his spirit and love of enterprise unbroken, drawing him we know not whither, but repeatedly to sea; for he says:

Ramusio, tom.i.fol.414, D. Eden, of 1554.

"After this, I made many other voyages, which I now pretermit; and, growing old, I give myself to rest from such labours, because there are now many young and vigorous seamen of good experience, by whose forwardness I do rejoice in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see."

Some hope that under the new regime Spain may find the record of Cabot's voyages.

So great a change has of late come over the kingdom of Spain, that we may now indulge a hope that the archives of that ancient kingdom will be opened to the student, and that from its hidden treasures some records of these lost voyages, and perchance the invaluable maps and charts drawn by Cabot's own hand, be brought to light; we indicate a rich mine, who will go and dig?

Home sickness affects, more or less, all men at some period or other of their sojourn

in a foreign clime; we have known men, who, under the ſunny, cloudleſs azure of a Naples ſky, ſighed and ſickened for the miſty cloudineſs of our native iſle.

Cabot returns home.

It might have been this that brought Cabot home to Briſtol, no diſhonourable ſlight had been put upon him; for eighteen years he had moved amongſt the grandees of Spain as their equal, and was above the reach of want; we look, at firſt, for any other cauſe, it lies not on the ſurface, perhaps, with induſtry, we may ſtrike the vein.

Barrow's miſtake as to the cauſe of his return. "Ch. Hiſt. of Voyages," p. 36.

Barrow, indeed, ſays that "his friend, Robert Thorne, ſent for him home;" verily, if it were ſo, the meſſage was a long time travelling to him, for good Robert Thorne had reſted from his labours for ſixteen years, leaving his works to follow him, as they do this day, and a memory green and beautiful for ever.

"Hiſtorical Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 190.

Now Strype tells us that he came to England and ſettled in his native place, Briſtol, in 1548; that is, in the firſt year of Edward VI., and the time of liberty for tender conſciences.

Had he, with his gentle and travel-enlarged

heart, who had ſeen ſo much of iniquity practiſed in the name of religion by the Spaniards, conceived a deſire in the autumn of his days to learn ſomething of this new religion which the prieſts, who had ſanctioned the cruelties of Mexico and Peru, were everywhere ſpeaking againſt; and did he deſire liberty for himſelf to read the Word of God, which he could not do in Spain? That he was well acquainted with the letter, and thoroughly entered into its ſublime precepts, we ſhall ſhortly ſee: ſomewhere he learned to reſtrain that unruly member which, once at leaſt, led him aſtray; and, not only could he denounce blaſphemy of God, and deteſtable ſwearing, then ſo common, but alſo "ribaldrie, filthy tales, diceing, and gaming." He alſo is found adviſing morning and evening prayers daily; and alſo that "the Bible be daily read devoutly and Chriſtianly to God's honour, and for His grace to be obtained by humble and hearty prayer."

Theory that it was to enjoy liberty of conſcience that he returned, a lover of truth and a denouncer of the common vices of all ranks, but eſpecially thoſe practiſed by the ſeamen of thoſe days.

A reader of the Bible and a lover of prayer.

Here we have, we think, the key to the myſtery, and can underſtand why he abandoned the emoluments and honours of office,

and ſteadily and perſiſtently refuſed to return, but choſe to live and die in a land where, at that time, liberty of conſcience was allowed to all men.

Home to Briſtol then he came; but not long had ſettled down when a formal and moſt urgent demand was made by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that

Settled at Briſtol, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador demands his return from the Council. Strype, "Hiſt. Mem." vol.ii. p. 190.

"Sebaſtian Cabote, Grand Pilot of the Emperor's Indies, then in England, might be ſent over to Spain, as a very neceſſary man for the Emperor, whoſe ſervant he was, and who had given him a penſion."

The anſwer to this application is ſtill preſerved amongſt the Harleian MSS., and it goes very far to prove that there had been no quarrel between the Emperor and Cabot.

No. 523, Art. 2, "Letter to Sir Philip Hoby."

The Engliſh Council, in its own anxiety to retain Cabot in this country, does ſcant juſtice to his dignified and fitting reply when pointedly and rudely interrogated as to what he would do at the command of the council or of his ſovereign.

This is the narrative of the occurrence: "And as for Sebaſtian Cabot, word was firſt

Cabot's Anſwer.

made that he was not detain'd here by us, but that he of himſelf refuſed to go either into Spain or to the Emperor in Flanders; and that he being of that mind, and the King Edward's ſubject (Briſtol born), no reaſon or equity would that he ſhould be forced or compelled to go againſt his will.

The Ambaſſador demands a perſonal interview.

"Upon the which anſwer the ambaſſador demanded that Cabot ſhould vivâ voce, in the preſence of ſome one whom the council ſhould appoint, declare this to be his mind and anſwer.

At which Cabot decidedly refuſes to go either into Spain or Flanders,

"Whereunto we condeſcended, and at the laſt ſent the ſaid Cabot, with Richard Shelley, to the ambaſſador, who, as the ſaid Shelley hath made report to us, affirmed to the ſaid ambaſſador that he was not minded to go, neither into Spain nor to the Emperor.

but is willing to give the Emperor all the information he ſeeks.

"Nevertheleſs, having knowledge of certain things very neceſſary for the Emperor's knowledge, he was well contented, *for the good-will he bore the Emperor*, to write his mind unto him, or to declare the ſame here to any ſuch as ſhould be appointed to hear him.

"Whereunto the ſaid ambaſſador aſked the

ſaid Cabot, 'in caſe the King's majeſty, or we the council, ſhould command him to go, whether then he would not do it.'"

"Whereunto the ſaid Cabot made anſwer: '*If* the King's Highneſs, or *we*, ſhould ſo command, he knew well enough what he had to do.'" "But it ſeemeth that the ambaſſador took this anſwer of Cabot to mean that, on being ſo commanded by the King or by us, he would be content to go."

Cabot anſwers the ambaſſador.

"Wherein we reckon the ſaid ambaſſador to be deceived, for Cabot had divers times before declared unto us that he was fully determined not to go hence at all."

Tells the Council he certainly will not go.

Spain, of courſe, ſtruck off his penſion, and Edward immediately gave him one of 250 marks, or £166 13s. 4d., a very handſome ſum for the period.

Spain ſtops his penſion, Edward gives him one.

CHAPTER IX.

Cabot's office; he explains the variation of the Compaſs to the King; State of Trade in England; depreſſion thereof, cauſed by the monopoly of the Stilliard merchants. The London merchants conſult Cabot; his advice followed; is made Governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company for life; frequent interviews with the King; breaks the foreign monopoly; is liberally rewarded by the grateful monarch; builds the ſhips for the new expedition at Briſtol, ſheaths them with lead plates; firſt introduction of this ſyſtem into England; Sir Hugh Willoughby choſen for the command; Cabot's wife ſailing and buſineſs inſtructions.

Cabot is made ſuperintendent of the naval affairs of the kingdom.

WE have no name given for the office which Cabot now filled under the Engliſh Government; but he ſeems to have exerciſed a general ſupervifion over the maritime affairs of the kingdom, under the king and the council. We have one inſtance left on record in which he vetoed John Allday, who, "Wanting to go as maſter in a ſhip to the Levant, was ſtayed

'By the prince's letters, which my maſter, Sebaſtian Gabote, had obtained for that purpoſe, to my great grief.'"

He licenſes,

We hear, alſo, of his being preſent at the examination of a French pilot, who had long frequented the Coaſt of Brazil.

and examines pilots.

There is alſo every reaſon for believing that the minute inſtructions for navigating the Rio de La Plata, given in Hakluyt, are from his pen.

Chart of the Rio de la Plata.

The boy king had himſelf a great taſte for maritime affairs; when quite a child he knew all the harbours and ports in France and Scotland, as well as thoſe in his own dominions; how much water they had, and the way to get into them.

King Edward VI. ſtudies navigation.

We have it on the teſtimony of the noble Venetian, Sanuto, that Cabot had explained to the king the whole ſubject of the variation of the needle, which Guido Gianeti, their mutual friend in London, informed Sanuto "That Sebaſtian Cabot was the firſt diſcoverer of this hid ſecret of nature; that he ſhowed the extent of the variation, and alſo that it was different in different places."

Cabot explains to him the variation of the compaſs. "Geographia," Sanuto, lib. prim. fol. 2. Venice, 1588.

High eſteem in which Cabot is held.

Gianeti reſided near to Cabot, and from him and others Sanuto learned that Cabot was held in the higheſt eſteem.

Sanuto's inſtrument.

Sanuto had conſtructed at Venice an inſtrument for meaſuring the longitude; hence it became a matter of great importance to him to aſcertain a point of no variation.

Bartholomew Compagni's evidence as to Cabot's charts, &c.

This, after Gianeti had left England, he got from Cabot through another friend, who alſo tells him he ſaw "a chart of navigation, executed by hand with the greateſt care, and carefully compared with one made by Cabot himſelf, in which the poſition of this meridian was ſeen to be 110 miles weſt of Flores.

Sanuto proves the correctneſs of Cabot's deductions.

Sanuto remarks that he had proofs of the accuracy of the report thus made; he refers repeatedly to the map, which appears to have been ſent to him, and adverts to obſervations made by Cabot as to the variation of the compaſs at the Equator.

Three copies of Cabot's charts mentioned.

Where can all theſe maps, &c. be? For, beſides thoſe which Worthington's ſhade muſt anſwer for, we have at leaſt three copies traced —one each to Sanuto, Ortelius, and the Duke of Bedford, at Cheynies—to ſay nothing of

the extract cut by Clement Adams in this very year, 1549. Where are they? and echo alone anſwers—Where?

Cabot's maps,

What Cabot's theory of the variation was we are left to conjecture; this we know, that his tranſatlantic voyages had led him to the ſcenes of its moſt marked, ſudden, and ſtriking aberrations.

and his obſervations on the variation of the needle, loſt.

It matters not that in our day Sir James Roſs has been able to reach the ſpot and indicate the exact ſite, for the time being, of the magnetic pole, which ſpot is to the eaſt of that mentioned by Cabot.

Change of poſition of magnetic pole.

It is ever oſcillating, has no fixed reſting point; in the ſeventeenth century it was conſiderably to the eaſt of the meridian of Greenwich; in 1660 it was coincident with it, or due north and ſouth; in 1818 it had reached to 24° 30′ weſt; and ſince then it has been ſlowly diminiſhing.

Still oſcillating.

In an edition of Ptolemy's "Geographia," publiſhed at Rome in 1508, there is a reference to the Terra Nova and the Baccalaos, Cabot's names for the new lands, and which muſt have been taken from his charts; on a

Cabot's approximation to its ſite, publiſhed in 1508.

map in this work is a ſpot pointed out where it ſtates "Here the ſhips' compaſs loſes its property."

Cabot's views practical, and the reſult of cloſe obſervation.

That Cabot's explanation to the king was more than a mere ſtatement of iſolated facts we gather from this: he repreſented the variation as differing in different places, as not abſolutely regulated by diſtance from any particular meridian; that he could point to a ſpot of no variation; and that thoſe whom he trained as ſeamen, as Chancellor and Stephen Burrough, were particularly attentive to this problem, noting it at one time, thrice within a ſhort ſpace; ſo that, if his theory had been at variance with facts, his ſucceſſors would ſoon have found out the error and expoſed it.

He trains others to follow his ſteps, and continue his examinations.

He conceives a new project. Eden's "Decades," fol. 256.

But, though Cabot's ſervices were thus diffuſive and varied, his indomitable energy was yet to ſtrike out a new enterpriſe, perhaps the greateſt, at all events the moſt ſucceſsful, of his long and varied efforts. It had long been maturing in his mind, and now the time for action had come.

State of trade in England in 1551.

A general ſtagnation of trade pervaded England, and a liſtleſs deſpondency brooded

over its commerce; ſo much ſo, that the London merchants had an interview with the Briſtol navigator, who "happened to be in London," and "after much ſearch and conference together, it was at laſt concluded that three ſhips ſhould be prepared and furniſhed out for the ſearch and diſcovery of the northern part of the world, to open a way and paſſage to our men for travel to new and unknown regions."

Cabot's interview with the London merchants.

(1550.) Letters of incorporation were, on the 14th of December, 1551, procured, wherein it is declared "that, in conſideration of his being the chiefeſt ſetter forth of this journey, or voyage, therefore we make, ordain, and conſtitute him, the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabot, to be the firſt and preſent governor during his natural life, without removal."

Letters patent of incorporation of the merchant adventurers' company to Ruſſia. Hakluyt, vol. i. 268.

This was the beginning of the company of merchant adventurers, of which our citizen was the founder and firſt head; the Briſtol branch was incorporated under a ſeparate charter on December 23, 1552.

Briſtol charter.

At the very outſet of the ſociety, it was to encounter a difficulty, which would have ap-

palled a man of ſmall mental calibre, and led him to give it up in deſpair.

The Steelyard merchants of Germany

The German cities, Antwerp and Hamburgh, held excluſive poſſeſſion of the trade of Northern and Central Europe. By gifts or bribes they had obtained large conceſſions in the duties and cuſtoms of England.

pay leſs duty on exports.

They paid much leſs, for inſtance, when they exported Engliſh cloth, than the native manufacturer, if he choſe to export, had to pay.

They fraudulently import,

In importing goods at a favoured and lower rate for themſelves, they alſo furtively introduced large quantities, as their own (for a conſideration), at the low rate of duty.

and monopolize the Engliſh trade, cruſhing the home manufacturer. Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 90. M'Pherſon, vol. ii. p. 109.

Having thus ſecured the command of the Engliſh market, as well as the monopoly of the foreign, they ſet their own value on goods, and actually brought Engliſh wool down to 18*d.* per ſtone; employed no Engliſh ſhips, and with their joint ſtocks playing into each other's hands, cruſhed the Engliſh merchants. They were called the Stilliard (Steelyard) merchants.

Cabot's genius roſe to the occaſion. He

ſaw no reaſon why, theſe impediments once removed, England ſhould not become the manufactory of the world, and her ſhips the carriers of its produce.

Cabot demurs to this;

The father of free trade, he ſet himſelf againſt this monopoly, and manfully did he battle with it.

becomes the father of free trade.

By the king's entries in his private journal we ſee the deep intereſt that Edward felt in a matter that ſo ſeriouſly concerned the welfare of his ſubjects; theſe entries are continued over five months, and are often of conſiderable length.

King Edward's deep intereſt in this matter.

At laſt, on February 23, A. D. 1551, ſucceſs crowned Cabot's perſevering efforts, and a reſult ſo auſpicious to commerce, as the breaking up of the cloſe monopoly, and ſo advantageous to the public revenue was not forgotten.

Cabot is ſucceſsful,

In March "Sebaſtian Caboto, the great ſeaman, had £200, by way of the King's Majeſty's reward."

and is rewarded by the king. Burnet's "Hiſtory Reformation," vol. ii. from the Cotton MSS.

This huge obſtacle removed, the merchant adventurers ſet to work in earneſt to open the way and paſſage to the northern ſeas.

Intereſt in the new adventure.

New ſhips are ordered to be built, ſtrong

Careful ſupervifion of the new ſhips.

and well-ſeaſoned planks are ſelected for the purpoſe, and, to guard againſt the worms, "Which many times pearceth and eateth through the ſtrongeſt oake," it is reſolved to "cover the keel of the ſhippe with thinne ſheets of leade."

Introduction of the plan of ſheathing with metal. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 243.

This was the introduction of ſheathing into the Britiſh marine; the art had been practiſed in Spain, and Cabot, if not the original inventor, muſt be allowed the honour of introducing it into England.

Cabot then living at Briſtol,

Strype tells us: "This famous expedition was ſet on foot from Briſtowe, where Cabot then lived."

where, probably, the ſhips were built.

We are, therefore, juſtified in ſuppoſing that the ſhips were built on the ſpot, under his perſonal ſuperviſion; and thus we claim for the old city the honour of being the firſt place in the kingdom wherein ſo uſeful an invention was practically applied.

The company on the outlook for information.

The adventurers were on the *qui vive* for information relating to the northern lands they wiſhed to explore, wherever it could be found.

Two Tartareans employed about the king's

ſtables were brought out, and an interpreter employed to aſk them about their country, its people, manners, habits, &c. &c., but

Catch two Tartareans,

"Story! God bleſs you, they had none to tell, ſirs.
* * * * * * * *
But they'd be glad to drink their honors' health, in
A pot of beer, if they would give them ſixpence.
For their own part, they never loved to meddle"
With ſearchings.

but get little information.

"Being," ſays the old chronicler, "more inclined to toſs pots than to learn the ſtates and diſpoſitions of people."

Amongſt thoſe who moſt anxiouſly ſought command, was Sir Hugh Willoughby, a moſt valiant and well-born gentleman, ſkilful in the ſervice of war, and of a tall and commanding stature.

Sir Hugh Willoughby appointed to the command.

Eventually he was appointed to the chief command.

In command alſo of one of the ſhips, with the title of Pilot-major, was Chancellor, a perſonal friend of Cabot's, who had been brought up with Philip Sydney.

Richard Chancellor one of the captains.

He was a ſkilful and intrepid ſeaman, and his remarks on the cuſtoms, religious habits,

A keen, clever man,

manners, and laws of the countries he viſited, prove him to have been poſſeſſed of great ſhrewdneſs, quick obſervation, and a highly cultured underſtanding.

and perſonal friend of Cabot's. "Decades," fol. 357.

His intimacy with Cabot was cloſe and reciprocal; one incident in that great man's hiſtory, we alone know through him: viz., Cabot's peril in the Arctic ſea through a water-ſpout.

Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 233.

The ſailing maſter in Chancellor's ſhip was Stephen Burrough, afterwards Chief Pilot of England, and of high rank in the navy, William Burrows, afterwards Comptroller of the Navy, and Arthur Pet, were alſo both in the ſhip in ſome ſubordinate capacity.

Cabot's excellent inſtructions for the guidance and government of the expedition. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 226.

Cabot prepared a book of inſtructions, which was ordered to be publicly read once a week on board of each ſhip. "To the intent that every man may better remember his oath, conſcience, duty, and charge."

Theſe have been juſtly regarded as model inſtructions, and reflect the higheſt luſtre on his ſagacity, good ſenſe, and comprehenſive knowledge.

Whilſt we can only find room for a few

extracts, theſe bits of a great man's mind will fill the reader with regret that all the records of his own Herculean labours have been loſt to the world.

Title of the inſtructions.

They are called "Ordinances, inſtructions, and advertiſements of and for the direction of the intended voyage to Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered by the right worſhipful M. Sebaſtian Cabota, Eſqr., Governour of the Myſterie and Companie of the Merchants Adventurers, for the diſcoverie of regions, dominions, iſlands, and places unknowen, the 9th day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553, and in the 7 yere of the reigne of our moſt dread ſovereigne Lord Edward VI., by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth, ſupreme head."

"7th item," to keep daily the log, and chronicle all paſſing occurrences.

"7th item. That the merchants and other ſkilful perſons, in writing, ſhall daily write, deſcribe, and put in memorie the navigation of each day and night, with the points and obſervations of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the ſunne, courſe of the moon

and ſtarres, and the ſame ſo noted by the order of the maſter and pilot of every ſhip to be put in writing; the captaine-generall, aſſembling the maſters together once every weeke (if winde and weather ſhall ſerve) to conferre all the obſervations and notes of the ſaid ſhips, to the intent it may appeare, wherein the notes do agree and wherein they diſſent, and upon good debatement, deliberation, and concluſion, determined to put the ſame into a common leger, to remain of record for the company; the like order to be kept in proportioning of the cardes, aſtrolabes, and other inſtruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie."

Captains of the ſhips to meet, and compare notes once a week.

"27 item. The names of the people of every iſland are to be taken in writing, with the commodities and incommodities of the ſame; their natures, qualities, and diſpoſitions, the ſite of the ſame, and what things they are moſt deſirous of, and what commodities they will moſt willingly depart with, and what metals they have in hils, mountains, ſtreams, or rivers, in or under the earth."

Names and characters of the inhabitants of newly diſcovered lands. The production of the countries, &c., to be claſſified, and taken down in writing.

Attention to moral and religious duties is ſtrictly enjoined.

" 12 item. That no blaſpheming of God, or deteſtable ſwearing, be uſed in any ſhip, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or ungodly talke, to be ſuffered in the company of any ſhip, neither dicing, tabling, nor other diveliſh games to be frequented, whereby enſueth not onely povertie to the players, but alſo ſtrife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther, to the utter deſtruction of the parties, and provoking of God's moſt juſt wrath and ſworde of vengeance. Theſe and all ſuch like peſtilences and contagions of vices and ſinnes to be eſchewed, and the offenders once moniſhed, and not reforming, to be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the captaine and maſters as appertaineth."

Swearing, filthy language, gaming, brawling, and fighting prohibited, and to be puniſhed.

" 13 item. That morning and evening prayer with other common ſervices appointed by the King's Majeſtie, and lawes of this realme, to be read and ſaide in every ſhip daily by the miniſter in the admirall, and the marchant or ſome other perſon learned in other ſhips; and the Bible or paraphraſes to

Religious duties enjoined. Morning and evening prayer, and daily reading of the Scriptures to the crew.

Public and private prayer recommended.

be read devoutly and Chriſtianly to God's honour and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and hearty prayer of the navigants accordingly."

"23 item. Foraſmuch as our people and ſhippe may appear unto them ſtrange and wonderous, and theirs alſo to ours, it is to be conſidered how they may be uſed, learning much of their natures and diſpoſitions by ſome one ſuch perſon as you may firſt either allure or take to be brought aboard your ſhippes, and there to learn as you may, *without violence or force*, and no woman to be tempted or intreated to incontinence or diſhoneſtie."

No violence to be uſed to the natives,

"26 item. Every nation and region to be conſidered adviſedly, and not to provoke them by any diſtance, laughing, contempt, or ſuch like; but to uſe them with prudent circumſpection, *with all gentleneſs and courteſie*; and not to tarry long in one place until you ſhall have attained the moſt worthy place that may be found in ſuch ſort, as you may returne with victuals ſufficient proſperouſly."

but all Chriſtian courteſy and gentleneſs to be ſhewn.

In the 32nd item, he refers to the difficulties experienced from timidity and incre-

dulity; and ſpeaks of the "obſtacles which had miniſtered matter of ſuſpicion in ſome heads that this voyage could not ſucceed, for the extremitie of the North Pole, lacke of paſſage, and ſuch like, which have cauſed wavering minds and doubtful heads, not only to withdraw themſelves from the adventures of this voyage, but alſo diſſuaded others from the ſame," &c. &c.

Cabot draws on his own paſt experience for advice to them when timid fears ariſe,

"33rd item of inſtructions. No conſpiracies, parttakings, factions, falſe tales, untrue reports, which be the very ſeedes and fruits of contention, diſcord, and confuſion by evil tongues, to be ſuffered, but the ſame and all other ungodlineſs to be chaſtened charitably with brotherly love, and always obedience to be uſed and practiſed by all perſons in their degrees, not only for duty and conſcience ſake towards God, under whoſe merciful hand navigants above all other creatures naturally be moſt nigh and *vicine*, but alſo for prudent and worldly policy and publick weale, conſidering and always having preſent in your minds that you be all one moſt loyal king's ſubjects, and naturally with daily remembrance

and adviſes thorough union.

Points out to them that they are, above all men, under God's ſpecial protection.

Calls to their remembrance the greatneſs of the work, the honour to themſelves and reward to their families, and the completeneſs of their equipment, and devoutly prays for their ſucceſs.

of the great importance of the voyage the honour, glory, praiſe, and benefit that depend of and upon the ſame toward the common wealth of this noble realme, the advancement of you the travelers therein, your wives and children, and ſo to endeavour yourſelves as that you may ſatisfy the expectation of them who, at their great coſtes, charges, and expenſes, have ſo furniſhed you in good ſort and plenty of all neceſſaries as the like was never in any realme ſeen, uſed or known, requiſite and needful for ſuch an exploit, which is moſt likely to be achieved and brought to good effect, if every perſon in his vocation ſhall endeavour himſelf according to his charge and moſt bounden duty, praying the living God to give you his grace to accompliſh your charge to his glory, whoſe merciful hand ſhall proſper your voyage and preſerve you from all dangers. In witneſs whereof I, Sebaſtian Gabota, Governor aforeſaid, to theſe preſent ordinances have ſubſcribed my name and put my ſeal the day and year above written."

Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 227.

Theſe inſtructions do honour to the man who framed them, and prove him to have

been a man of ſcience, of ſound practical buſineſs habits, and in the higheſt ſenſe of the word a Chriſtian gentleman.

CHAPTER X.

The Expedition ſails for the north-eaſt; Chancellor's ſucceſs; Willoughby's diſaſtrous fate; other expeditions planned; high perſonages under Cabot in the company; Chancellor's wreck and death; Muſcovite Ambaſſador ſaved; his entry into London; Cabot's opinion of liars; his buſineſs orders to the agents; ſucceſsful management of the Company; large increaſe of trade. Other expeditions. The old man jubilant, gives large alms to the poor that they may pray for the ſailors; his pious commendations of them to God. Dark days under Mary; Philip of Spain lands; Cabot loſes half his Penſion; gets a queſtionable partner in his office; antecedents of Worthington; Cabot's maps and charts; Hakluyt not able to get a ſight of them; miſſing ever ſince; are they in Spain now? Death-bed; ſays he has infallible method of diſcovering the longitude. Is it the Celeſtial? Summary of his life and character.

The expedition ſails May 20th, 1553.

THE ſquadron was ready on the 20th of May. "The greater ſhippes are towed down with boats and oars, and the mariners, being all apparelled in watchett, or ſkie-color'd

cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence."

Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 245.

"And being come neare to Greenwich, where the Court then lay, preſently, upon the newes thereof, the courtiers came running out, and the common people flocked together, ſtanding very thicke upon the ſhoare; the privie counſel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the reſt ranne up to the toppes of the towers; the ſhippes hereupon diſcharge their ordinance and ſhoot off their peaces, after the manner of warre and of the ſea; inſomuch that the tops of the hilles ſounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an echo, and the mariners, they ſhouted in ſuch ſort that the ſkie rang againe with the noyſe thereof. One ſtood in the poope of the ſhippe, and by his geſture bids farewell to his friendes in the beſt maner hee coulde. Another walkes upon the hatches, another climbes the ſhroudes, another ſtands upon the maine yard, and another in the toppe of the ſhippe. To be ſhorte, it was a very triumph (after a ſort) in all reſpects to the beholders. But, alas, the good King Edward (in reſpect

Arrives at Greenwich.

Great rejoicings on ſhore, and on board the ſhips.

of whom principally all this was prepared), hee only by reaſon of ſickneſs was abſent from this ſhowe, and not long after the departure of theſe ſhippes the lamentable and moſt ſorrowful accident of his death followed."

King Edward, ſick and dying, takes no part.

They put in at Harwich for final orders, and were delayed a while; "yet, at the laſte, with a good winde, they hoyſted up ſayle and committed themſelves to the ſea, giving their laſt adieu to their native country, which they knew not whether they ſhould ever returne agayne to ſee or not. Many of them looked oftentimes backe and could not refraine from teares, conſidering into what hazards they were to fall, and what uncertainties of the ſea they were to make tryall of." Chancellor himſelf was moved. "His natural and fatherly affection alſo ſomewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him two little ſonnes, which were in the caſe of orphans if he ſpedde not well."

The ſhips put in at Harwich.

Let us follow his fortunes briefly. After a ſeparation from his conſorts in a great ſtorm, he reached the rendezvous in Norway, and waited ſome days in vain. Diſheartening

Chancellor's voyage.

His ſteady determination.

repreſentations were made to deter him from proceeding, but he remained "ſteadfaſt and immutable in his reſolution to do or to die," and ſo he held on his courſe into the unfathomable unknown.

Rounds the North Cape.

Rounding the North Cape, he came to "a place where was no night at all, but a continuall light, and brightneſſe of the ſun ſhyning clearlie upon the huge and mightie ſea; and havyng the benefit of this perpetual light for certayne days, at length it pleaſed God to bring them to a certayne bay, which was one hundred miles or thereabouts over, whereinto they entered ſomewhat farre and caſt anchor."

Reaches the White Sea.

Lands on the ſpot where Archangel now ſtands.

Landing near Archangel, then only a caſtle, the influence of Cabot's injunction as to gentleneſs was ſeen, and had a moſt happy reſult.

Tranquillizes the natives.

The people at firſt, half dead with fear, threw themſelves at Chancellor's feet; "but he, in a lovinge ſorte, did take them up from the grounde, and this humanitie did purchaſe to himſelf great favour through the ſpreading abroad a report of the ſtrange people, who were yet ſo full of ſingular gentleneſſe and

Is provisioned by them.

courtesie, whereupon the natives supplied them with victuals freely."

Journeys overland to Moscow.

It is not the province of the writer to follow Chancellor in his successful overland route to Moscow, where he had a most cordial reception, and laid the solid foundations of a trade which is carried on to this day.

It is with the well-won results we have more particularly to deal. But ere we do this, let us for a few moments enquire as to the fate of the gallant Willoughby.

Willoughby's expedition.

After being parted from their consort, Chancellor, all trace of him was entirely lost; but, though the sea shall not give up its dead till the Archangel's trump shall sound, the icy kingdom does at times unlock its treasure house and reveal some dread story of the past.

His frozen-up ships discovered.

Long, long afterwards the frozen-up ships were discovered; of course, no living beings were there; but the admiral's journal had been kept, and Gabriel Willoughby's will was attested by brave Sir Hugh, as late as January 1554.

Some of them alive in January, 1554.

Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 245.

The last entry described the "Unknowen

and moſt wonderful wild beaſts aſſembling in fearful numbers about the ſhips."

Their tragic fate.

And then Oblivion in mercy draws a pall over the ſcene; but, as one by one falls into the arms of death, we ſeem to ſee the King of the eternal ſnows, the Lord of the vaſt unknown, as the laſt hardy ſurvivor drops lifeleſs by the ſide of his unburied comrades, barring afreſh the gate of his terrible domain, whiſtling a tempeſt dirge amidſt the cryſtal peaks of his icy mountains, and then burying all record of the bold intruders under a mantle of fleecy ſnow.

Probable cauſe of their death.

What was the immediate cauſe of ſo diſmal a cataſtrophe can now be only matter of conjecture; it could ſcarcely have been diſeaſe or famine,—ſome note would in either caſe have been moſt probably made in the journal; the greater probability is, that they ſuccumbed to the intenſe cold. Thomſon pathetically laments their fate in the following lines:—

"Miſerable they
Who here, entangled in the gathering ice,
Take their laſt look of the deſcending ſun;
While, full of death, and fierce with tenfold froſt,
The long, long night incumbent o'er their heads,

Falls horrible. Such was the Briton's fate,
As with firſt prow (what have not Britons dared?)
He for the paſſage ſought, attempted ſince,
So much in vain."

Cabot at work whilſt the expedition of Willoughby is away.

Cabot, whilſt the expedition was making its way towards the north, was not idle. In conjunction with Sir George Barnes, the Lord Mayor, Sheriff Garrett, who became Lord Mayor in 1555, York, Wyndham, and other adventurers, he overſees, and, on the 12th of Auguſt, 1553, deſpatches another expedition to Guinea, which we are told failed through the miſconduct of Captain Wyndham.

Organizes a new adventure to Guinea.

Names of the ſhips employed.

This voyage, for which the King lent two ſhips, the "Primroſe," and the "Lion," pinnace, has been by Strype confounded and mixed up with the previouſly deſcribed expedition, in which we have ſeen that two of the ſhips were totally loſt, and the third we ſhall find was ſo afterwards; whereas this ſhip, the "Primroſe," was in exiſtence, and was the admiral's ſhip in 1557, in which year ſhe was choſen to carry home to Ruſſia the ambaſſador from that country, ſo that ſhe could not have formed one of this firſt expedition. Named

in the charter, and numbered amongſt the adventurers, we have the following liſt of high officials, compriſing the beſt blood and higheſt rank in the kingdom. "Our right truſty and well beloved counſellor, William, Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord High Treaſurer" (a Paulet, who lived to ſee 103 deſcendants of his own body); "Henry, Earl of Arundel, Lord Steward of the Houſehold; John, Earl of Bedford, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; William, Earl of Pembroke" (who this year rode into London to his manſion, Baynard Caſtle, with 300 horſe in his retinue, of which 100 of them were gentlemen in plain blue cloth, with chains of gold and badges of a dragon on their ſleeves); "William Lord Howard, of Effingham, the Lord High Admiral of England, &c. &c. &c., all of whom are incorporated under one Governor" (Sebaſtian Cabot, as the chiefeſt ſetter forth of the enterpriſe) "of the ſaid fellowſhip and community of merchants adventurers, for the diſcovery of lands, territories, iſles, dominions, and ſeigniories, unknowen, and not before that late adventure by ſea commonly fre-

Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 267.

Noble members of the company who ſerved with and under Governor Cabot.

quented; which, by the ſufferance and grace of Almighty God, it ſhall chaunce them ſailing northwards, north eaſtwards, or north-weſtwards, to finde and attain, by their ſaid adventure," &c. &c. &c.

Inteſtine broils break up the adventurers to a large extent.

Theſe extenſive ſchemes of commerce and diſcovery were overſhadowed by the domeſtic broils which ſoon followed, ſeparating the noble adventurers into virulent oppoſing factions.

Philip of Spain, by his policy, hinders an extenſion of their plans.

Mary's huſband, Philip of Spain, to ſerve his own purpoſes, managed to embroil this country in a war with France, which ſtill further deranged the ambitious views of the company, ſo that their own attempts were reſtricted to their firſt, or Ruſſian ſpeculation, to which we now return very briefly.

Chancellor gets a charter for Governor Cabot to trade with Ruſſia.

Chancellor obtained from the Emperor of Ruſſia a charter to Sebaſtian Cabota, Governor, Sir George Barnes, Knight, &c., Conſuls, Sir John Greſham, and others, aſſiſtants, and to the "commonaltie of the aforenamed fellowſhip" and to their ſucceſſors for ever, &c. &c., containing certain privileges which placed their future commercial intercourſe upon the moſt liberal and ſecure footing.

On a ſubſequent voyage of Chancellor's the Emperor ſent back with him Oſep Nepea Gregorowitch, as his orator or ambaſſador, together with four ſhips heavily laden with furs, wax, train-oil, and other Ruſſian commodities, to the value of upwards of £20,000, which belonged partly to the merchants and partly to the orator; two of theſe ſhips were wrecked on the coaſt of Norway—one reached the Thames in ſafety; but the "Edward Bonaventure," Chancellor's own ſhip, was driven on the rocks at Pitſligo, in Scotland, and the intrepid Grand Pilot (which Chancellor now by appointment had become), whilſt trying to ſave the ambaſſador and ſeven of his attendants in his own boat, periſhed cloſe to the land.

The Emperor of Ruſſia ſends, by Chancellor, an ambaſſador to England in 1556, when Chancellor is wrecked, but ſaves the ambaſſador's life at the coſt of his own.

"The noble ambaſſador being, by God's preſervation and of ſpecial favour, with a fewe others, only withe much difficultie, ſaved."

As ſoon as the ſad tidings reached London, proviſion was made for the wants of the ſhipwrecked Muſcovite; and on his approach to London, on the 27th of February, 1557, he was met, twelve miles out of the city, by

The ambaſſador draws near London,

fourſcore merchants, with chains of gold and goodly apparel, with an array of menſervants in one uniform livery, upon good horſes and geldings, who conducted him to a merchant's houſe four miles from London, and ſupplying him with gold, velvet, ſilk, and all furniture requiſite; he had a riding garment made for him by the next day.

and is met by a royal cavalcade, and one hundred and forty merchant adventurers on horſeback with Governor Cabot.

Then the merchants adventuring for Ruſſia, to the number of *one hundred and forty perſons*, and ſo many or more ſervants in one livery, conducted him towards the City of London, ſhowing him by the way the hunting of the fox, and many other ſuch like ſports. The Right Honourable Viſcount Montague, a ſpecial meſſenger from the Queen, here met and embraced him by commandment, and, with three hundred knights and gentlemen, accompanied him to London; at the north part of which, four notable merchants preſented to him a right fair and large gelding, richly trapped, together with a foot-cloth of orient crimſon velvet, enriched with gold lace, all furniſhed in the moſt glorious faſhion, the preſent gift of the ſaid merchants.

At the City bounds the Lord Mayor and Corporation meet, and give him welcome.

At Smithfield Bars the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in ſcarlet received him, and ſo preceded by the merchants and notable perſonages, and riding between the Lord Mayor and Lord Montague, with a large troop of ſervants and apprentices following, he was conducted to his lodgings in "Fantchurch-ſtreet, with greate admiration and plauſibilitie of the people, running plentifullie on all ſides, and replenyſhinge all ſtreetes in ſuch ſort as no man without difficultie might paſſe." Here, in "two chambers richly hanged and decked, with an ample rich cupboard of plate," he abode until the 3rd of May, receiving many aldermen and the graveſt perſonages of the ſaid company, who provided for his table as appertayned to an ambaſſador of ſuch honour."

His lodging.

Cabot looks beneath the ſurface,

But the wary old Governor had ſeen foreigners before, and in their own homes, and he ſeems very ſoon to have "Scratched the ſkin and diſcovered the Tartar;" for, writing to their agents in Ruſſia ſoon after Oſep's arrival, he ſays:—

"Wee doe not finde the ambaſſadour nowe

and records his opinion of the ambaſſador.

at the laſt ſo conformable to reaſon as wee had thought wee ſhoulde. Hee is very miſtruſtfull and thinketh every man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you have to doe with him, or with any ſuch, and to make your bargains plaine, and to ſet them downe in writing. For they be ſubtill people, and doe not alwaies ſpeake the truth, and thinke other men toe be like themſelves; therefore we would have none of them to ſend any goods in our ſhips at any time, nor none to come for paſſengers."

Cabot a lover of truth.

Riches, honours, and high poſitions, had not ſpoiled the old Briſtol mariner; truth and he had ſhaken hands, and were boſom friends now; he doeſn't like a liar, even though he repreſent an emperor; "ſo pray don't let any more of that ſort come into England—the ſample is enough—keep out the bulk."

The trade with Ruſſia on the increaſe.

Meanwhile the trade increaſes; in 1557 four ſhips ſail for Ruſſia—one of them the "Primroſe," carrying the ambaſſador, the maſter of which ſhip, "under God, was John Buckland," theſe were all laden with cloths,

cottons, and pewter. Seven rope-makers were ſent out to work up the raw flax and hemp, and to teach the trade to the natives, ſo that when theſe return, "we may not be deſtitute of good workmen, for we eſteem this a principal commoditie, and that *the counſel of England doth well allowe.*"

Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 297.

Teaches the natives rope-making, by advice of the Privy Council.

Ten young men, as apprentices, went out alſo in the fleet, who were to be appointed to various offices and places, to keep accounts, to buy and ſell, or to go as agents to notable cities of the country, for obſervation, underſtanding, and knowledge.

Apprentices taken to learn the duties of agents.

They alſo ſent a ſkinner "to view and ſee ſuch furs as you ſhall cheape or buy," but they inſtruct them "that ſables, and ſuch rich furs as they, bee not every man's money, and ſo ſend but few."

Skinner ſent to chooſe the right ſort of furs,

Underſtanding alſo "that in Permia and Ugory there is great quantity of yewe, which is a ſpecial commoditie for our realme," they ſend out Leonard Brian "to ſhewe how it ſhould be cut down and cloven."

and a bowyer to ſelect yew for bows.

The chief return in lading was to be of "wexe, flaxe, tallow, and trayne oil, and in

future voyages they were to add cables, ropes, and linen yarn."

Tartar ſteel the beſt.

They are alſo to look out for the ſteel of the Tartars, which is ſaid to be better than the Ruſſian, and both of them very plentiful.

Copper plentiful.

To keep their eye alſo on the copper of the country, "either in plates or round cakes, for of that alſo there is ſaid to be great plenty;" and to ſend ſpecimens of every commodity in the country, as ſamples.

Ruſſia leather, and the dyes uſed in its manufacture.

Eſpecially were they to be mindful of this in the matter of leather; "alſo of the herbs, earth, or whatſoever the Ruſſians dye with, and to be ſure and ſend ſamples of what they get for that purpoſe from the Turks and the Tartars."

To note the weights and meaſures; alſo the goods that ſuit, and the value of the money.

They were alſo to note well what Engliſh goods beſt ſuited the different parts of the vaſt country, and to "certify how their weights and meaſures do anſwer to ours; alſo to ſend over three roubles in money, that we may try the juſt value of them." (This inveſtment will certainly not break the company.)

Another letter adviſes the buying up of the wax by the company, as it is plentiful and

cheap. "A good and ſafe article for the realme, ſo that, having it wholly in our hands, we may ſerve our own country and others, and ſo to pay for it, that it may not be on their hands who have it to ſell."

Adviſes the buying up of all the wax.

The wax chandlery in thoſe days was one of the wealthieſt trades in the kingdom.

One hundred and forty tuns of caſks in ſtaves were now ſent for the oil, and all the agents were directed to correſpond regularly with head-quarters at Moſcow, and to keep the merchant there well poſted up in all matters relating to the country, its wants, and the trade of their ſeveral ſtations, "that he may give us large inſtructions, as well what is ſolde and boughte, as alſo what lading we ſhall take; alſo what kind of goods we ſhall ſend.

Caſks in ſtaves ſent for oil.

"For we muſt procure to utter good quantity of wares, eſpecially thoſe of our own realm, although we afford *a good pennyworth*, to the intent to make other that have traded thitherto weary, and ſo to bring ourſelves and our goods into eſtimation, and likewiſe to procure and have the chief commodities of

Adviſes the under-ſelling all other nations.

that country in our hands—as waxe, and ſuch others, that other nations may be ſerved by us and at our hands."

Correſpondence to be in cypher.

They are alſo inſtructed to write in cypher all letters which they ſend overland; but with the ſhips they are to ſend home one of their moſt intelligent young men (Arthur Edwards is named), "to certify us in any doubts, whom we will remit to you again in the next ſhip."

Nor is the energy and buſineſs tact, here diſplayed by the worſhipful and worthy old governor, confined to him or to his company.

Whaling trade originated.

The whaling trade to Spitzbergen owes its origin to their diſcovery, and was ſoon carried on with good reſults.

An impulſe had been given to England which quickened its commerce, and reſulted

Other expeditions.

in expeditions, which were ſent in different directions in this and the following reign.

All due to Cabot's wiſdom.

And all this change is due, "under God," as they ever piouſly ſay, to the ſound advice which, in their hour of deepeſt depreſſion of trade, was given to them by the great Briſtol ſeaman, and to the wiſdom with which he

governed the company, as ſeen in his ſeveral rules and orders.

His genius, indeed, not only quickened its commerce to life, but his paternal care nouriſhed it to its manhood.

Moſcow burnt.

Soon there grew up an extenſive eſtabliſhment in Moſcow, for, in 1571, when the Tartars forced the city and gave all to the flames (ſave the kremlin into which the Czar had retired), many Engliſhmen in the ſervice of the company periſhed.

Twenty-five Engliſhmen periſh in one cellar.

In one houſe, it is ſaid, "twenty-five Engliſhmen periſhed in one beer-cellar, and yet in that ſame cellar Rafe, his wife, John Brown, and John Clarke were preſerved, which was wonderful."

Chancellor's friend from Perſia at Moſcow.

It had happened that on Chancellor's firſt viſit to Moſcow he met with an unexpected friend in the "Ambaſſador from the Kinge of Perſia, called the great Sophie," who was all clothed in rich ſcarlet, and who ſpoke to the Emperor of our men, of whoſe kingdom and trade he was not ignorant.

Miſſion to Perſia.

This interview led to the miſſion to Perſia of Antony Jenkinſon, and the opening up of

a trade with that kingdom, where we are informed, ſays Cabot's correſpondent, "that raw ſilke is as plentiful as flax in Ruſſia."

Laſt ſketch of Cabot.

We get one more, and that a life-like ſketch, almoſt a photograph, of the old man jubilant, ere the curtain falls, and ſhuts him into the *Forever*.

The "Seathrift," Capt. Stephen Burroughs, fitted out for the north.

Stephen Burroughs, who had been with Chancellor, was again deſpatched to the north, in 1556, in a pinnace called the "Seathrift," and in his journal he gives us a glimpſe of the anxious ſupervifion of Cabot, and of his unwillingneſs to quit them until the very laſt moment of their ſailing.

Cabot's judgment of character.

We catch the genial ſmile, marvel at the wonderful unbroken ſpirit, and note how the wiſe old man gauged and underſtood the character of thoſe who ſurrounded him, and knew how to leave a laſting impreſſion on their minds that there would ever be a feeling of warm and loving ſympathy cheriſhed for them, though far, far away, by thoſe who were compelled to ſtay at home.

"On the 27th of April, being Monday, the Right Worſhipful Sebaſtian Caboto came

aboord our pinneſſe at Graveſend, accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen, who, after that they had viewed our pinneſſe, and taſted of ſuch cheere as wee could make them aboarde, they went on ſhore, giveing to our marriners right liberal rewardes. And the goode olde gentleman, Maſter Cabota, gave to the poore moſt liberall almes, wiſhing them to praye for the good fortune and proſperous ſucceſſe of the 'Serchthrift,' our pinneſſe.

He, with divers others, gives the mariners a feaſt at Graveſend.

"And then, at the ſign of the Chriſtopher, he and his friends banketted, and made me and them that were in the companie great cheere; and, for very joy that he had to ſee the towardneſſe of our intended diſcovery, he enter'd into the dance himſelf, amongſt the reſt of the younge and luſty company; which being ended, hee and his friends departed, moſt gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God."

Enters joyfully into their ſports, and, commending them to God, bids them farewell.

Sixty and one years have rolled away ſince the date of the firſt patent, under which Cabot ſailed and found a new world; and green, vigorous, and cheerful is the ripe old age to which he has attained.

Sixty-one years ſince the firſt patent in ſearch of the new land.

But, alas! Queen Mary did not love thoſe who had been the friends of her brother.

Philip of Spain, Queen Mary's huſband, arrives in England.

Her huſband, Philip of Spain, who threatened and dunned her into a war with France, who withheld the meagre penſion from a father who had given to him an empire, came to England May 20th, 1557.

He is no friend to Cabot,

Sebaſtian Cabot had, as we have ſeen, left the ſervice of Philip's father, and refuſed to return. He was now imparting to others the benefit of his ſkill and experience, and making England the ſucceſsful rival of Spain upon the ocean.

who has to reſign office, and alſo to loſe his penſion.

Thoſe who have ſtudied the character of that monarch will not think it a ſtrange coincidence that, on the 27th, or juſt one week after the King's landing on Engliſh ſhores, the great ſeaman, who had ſet his father at nought, had, under preſſure, to reſign his office and penſion, granted to him for life by King Edward VI.

Worthington appointed thereto.

Two days afterwards William Worthington was aſſociated with him in the office, to which he was reinſtated, and he alſo took half the old man's penſion.

His previous character.

All that we know previouſly of this Worthington is, that he was a defaulter in the days of King Edward, who forgave him a conſiderable amount, of which he ſaid he had been robbed by a runaway ſervant.

He has charge of Cabot's maps, &c.

This man had now the cuſtody of Cabot's "maps, charts, and diſcourſes, written with his own hand," by virtue of the office into which he had been foiſted.

Such documents would be ſecured by Philip at any price. He had put Worthington into the office, and ——. Well, the reader may draw his own concluſion.

Are they in Spain?

We ſhould be glad if Spain, rejoicing in her newly-found liberty, would let us look at them if ſhe can. We accuſe no one, but we have a deep ſuſpicion that they may yet be found amongſt her archives.

Hakluyt, to whoſe taſte and reſearch our naval hiſtory owes ſo much, though now and then, as in Cabot's caſe, he took liberties with the text, and, as he thought, corrected paſſages where he deemed the original, from which he tranſlated, was wrong, erring only in his judgment. Hakluyt, twenty years after

Cabot's death, ere he himſelf was made a prebendary of Briſtol, tried often, he tells us, to get a ſight of this precious collection of Cabot's, and met with repeated and peremptory refuſals from Worthington, for which there appears to have been no adequate motive. And hence, in the preface to his great and valuable work, Hakluyt ſays that "the office of pilot-major was, not long after Cabot's death, to the great hindrance of the commonwealth, miſerably turned to other private uſes."

Hakluyt's opinion.

Henceforth we loſe ſight of the good old man. "Ingratitude, more ſtrong than traitor's arms, quite vanquiſhed him; then burſt his mighty heart."

His faithful and attached friend, Richard Eden, juſt beckons us to ſee him die.

It is with ſomething like awe we gather round the bed and find "the ruling paſſion ſtrong in death." "As the ſpirit ſtruggles with the clay," "he ſpeaks flightily about a Divine revelation to him of a new and infallible method of finding the longitude, which he could not diſcloſe to any mortal."

Eden's account of Cabot's death. Eden's "Taiſnerus," King's Library, Britiſh Muſeum.

Perchance Eden underſtood him not, and the dying man was thinking of Him "who, as far as the eaſt is from the weſt, hath ſo far removed our tranſgreſſions from us." In the infinite ocean of the love of his Saviour he found no variation, but a ſolid data, from which neither length, or breadth, or depth, or height could ſeparate him; which, paſſing all human underſtanding, was partially revealed in the glimpſe which his dying eye caught of the Spirit World, beyond the river, and ſo, joyouſly and truſtfully, like a child in his old age, he ſank to his reſt.

Cabot finds the Celeſtial longitude.

At even-tide it was light.

The date of his death, like that of his birth, is unknown, and we can only infer that it was in or near London, from the fact that Eden, who lived there, was preſent.

Date of his death unknown,

Even where his aſhes lie is a myſtery; and he who gave to England a continent, and to Spain an empire, lies in ſome unknown tomb.

or the place of his burial.

He created our navy and made it into a profeſſion, in which, at firſt, landſmen and commanders of eminence on ſhore—like Sir Hugh Willoughby—were promoted to high

Summary of his labours for the Britiſh navy.

ſtation. But it was ſoon ſeen to be, not only highly deſirable, but abſolutely neceſſary that ſeamen ſhould, from boyhood, be trained for future command on the deep, and that every commander of a ſhip ſhould be a thorough ſailor.

Campbell's opinion of Cabot.

Campbell terms him the author of our maritime ſtrength; and it is impoſſible for even the moſt curſory reader of theſe pages to be blind to the immenſe ſervices which he rendered to this nation, whoſe power and poſition in the world have been won by her commerce and her ſhips.

His diſcoveries,

This man, who ſurveyed and depicted three thouſand miles of a coaſt which he had diſcovered; who gave to Britain, not only the

labours,

continent, but the untold riches of the deep, in the fiſheries of Newfoundland, and the whale fiſhery of the Arctic Sea; who broke

wiſdom,

up a monopoly that, vampire-like, was ſucking out England's infant ſtrength, and unlocked for her the treaſures of the world, ſaying, "Go, win and then wear them;" who is never re-

gentleneſs,

ported to have ſtruck an aggreſſive blow; who made enemies into friends, and whoſe friends

were ever warmly attached to him; who, by his uprightneſs and fair dealing, raiſed England's name high among the nations, placed her credit on a ſolid foundation, and made her citizens reſpected; who was the father of free trade, and gave us the carrying trade of the world: this man has not a ſtatue in the city that gave him birth, or in the metropolis of the country he ſo greatly enriched, or a name on the land he diſcovered. Emphatically, the moſt ſcientific ſeaman of his own or, perhaps, many ſubſequent ages—one of the gentleſt, braveſt, beſt of men—his actions have been miſrepreſented, his diſcoveries denied, his deeds aſcribed to others, and calumny has flung its filth on his memory.

and high and honourable character, a public gain to England, and the ſeed whence ſprang our commercial greatneſs.

We have ſtriven to clear away the miſrepreſentations with which ignorance, prejudice, and malignity have overlaid his life and actions, and to bring out the man from the ſhroud in which oblivion had partially enwrapped him.

To us it has been indeed a labour of love; for, like ſome glorious antique in an acropolis of weeds, he grew in beauty as we lifted off,

This a labour of love,

to clear his character, and ſuſtain his fair fame.

one after another, the aſperſions which had been caſt upon him, until, as the laſt ſtain was removed, and our loving work was done, as he ſtood before us in the majeſty of his true manhood, we were amazed that ſuch a man ſhould have remained ſo little known, and our only ſorrow in connection with our work was this—that the taſk of exhuming his reputation had not fallen into abler and more efficient hands.

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